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# CHAPTER V

## THE AZTEC PERIOD

*In which is recorded the history of the Tenochcas and the political background of Aztec civilization*

THE CHICHIMEC PERIOD witnessed invasion of the Valley 174
of Mexico by various tribes and the gradual domination of these tribes by a culture and manner of life that seems to have emanated from Puebla and northern Oaxaca. The basic political unit consisted of a tribe resident in a town supporting itself from its own land with the supplement, if possible, of supplies derived from the tribute payments of vassals. At the head of the state was a chief of lineage who also performed ecclesiastical functions. Craftsmanship was highly skilled, and trade flourished to furnish raw materials for the artisans. This productivity, however, was directed toward religion and ritual rather than the creation of personal wealth. Religion was an elaborate polytheism based on nature worship, with some god or gods singled out for special adoration, but the working of the *tonalpohualli*,* or sacred almanac, brought the full force of divine powers to aid man in his life on earth. (See Plate 29.)

The history of the Tenochcas, the Mexico City Aztecs, 173
shows how a tribal body lived and acquired the position of an 805
important state. According to their own records, the Tenoch-

*to-nal-po-wa'hl-li.

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173 [805] cas started their wanderings in 1168 A.D., though this date is arbitrary and possibly represents the date of the invention of the calendar system in vogue in Central Mexico.[1] At first they lived on an island in a lake in western Mexico and crossed in boats to the shore. In a hillside cave they found an idol of Huitzilopochtli (Hummingbird Wizard), which had the useful ability to speak and give them good advice. The accounts differ, and some have the Tenochcas starting off on their travels with several other tribes from a group of caves in which they originated. The names of the tribes are seldom the same in any two annals, but they always refer to important tribal entities at the time the particular history was inscribed (Table VII). These beginnings may be considered as formalized origin myths without historical significance.[2] (See Plate 62, middle right.)

The Tenochcas carried their new god's image with them on their journey. At each stopping place they set him up to be worshiped, and in return he advised them. Their method of procedure was to stay a year or more at a given place, while pioneers searched the land for another site and planted a crop there to harvest when the whole tribe arrived. The list of stopping places is highly dubious, and the different traditions disagree. Not until the tribes reached the lakes of Mexico are the localities mentioned easily identifiable or in common accord.

175 The Tenochcas entered the lakes from the northwest, via Tula and Zumpango, so there may be a basis for believing their original home was in Michoacan.* They seem to have [648] made every effort to avoid fighting by keeping away from settled lands. At one place they split up; at another they sac-

*Mich-o-a-ca'n.

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and had grown at the same rate as Tenochtitlan, aiding in many of the campaigns. It was famous for its merchants; and its market, even after its subjugation, was the greatest in Mexico. Local jealousy, however, did not lead to war until both towns competed in building temples to Huitzilopochtli, the War God. Apparently this competition for divine favor led to war, whereas economic conflict did not. Ridiculously enough the open break was induced by the insulting behavior of the Tlatelolcan women, who flaunted their backsides at the enraged Tenochcan visitors.[8]

The religious arts reached their full development under Axayacatl. In his time was made the great Calendar Stone which weighs over twenty tons and is twelve feet in diameter. The block was quarried on the mainland, and the allied rulers sent help to drag this gigantic mass across the causeways. Designed to symbolize the Aztec universe, it is a masterly example of a pattern, the detail of which adds, rather than detracts from, the spaciousness of the concept.[9] (See Plate 52, top.)

In 1472, early in the reign of Axayacatl, the life of a great figure in American Indian history, Nezahualcoyotl, came to an end. This Texcocan chief had begun his manhood in political exile fleeing from Tepanec vengeance, but had fought and intrigued his way back into power. He even restored the fortunes of his people who, in the previous century, had rivaled the Culhuacanos in the formative years of Aztec civilization. Nezahualcoyotl had a broad judicial sense which enabled him successfully to elaborate the administrative structure of a far-flung realm. Since the Texcocans, before the Tepanec domination in 1419–28 already had a chain of tribute-paying vassals, this resumption of control in

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PLATE 52

AZTEC ART

TOP: The Calendar Stone, thirteen feet in diameter, represents the history of the world. It is arranged in concentric circles, at the center of which is the sun set within the sign Four Movies, the date of the present era. The dates of the preceding eras are given in the four arms of the Movies sign. The twenty day names encircle the central symbols, and they are enclosed by glyphs for turquoise and jade, signifying "precious" and the color of the heavens. Beyond this band radiate sun's rays and star symbols, while the outer border consists of two great fire snakes, symbolizing time. BOTTOM: The National Stone, a monolithic block in the Mexican National Museum, suggests how the Calendar Stone was probably set on a platform. Its symbolism represents the Sacred War, the eternal conflict between the contrasting and opposing forces of nature.

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in heroic scale. The serpent, emblem of Quetzalcoatl, symbol of time and the year, representative of mystery and power, was frequently carved. The sinuous curves ending in the savage symmetry of the head offered a challenge which the sculptors accepted with a success that evokes the mysterious horror of the Aztec universe. (See Plates 53, 56.)

The grotesque gods are abstract and horrible to our modern eye. Coatlicue,* the "Lady of the Serpent Skirt" and mother of Huitzilopochtli, was thought of as powerful and awesome, so the task of the sculptors was to transmute those qualities into stone. The great statue in Mexico, whose head is twin serpents, whose necklace human hands and hearts, whose feet and hands are viciously armed with claws and whose skirt is a mat of writhing snakes, brings into a dynamic concentrate the manifold horrors of the universe. A smaller carving, simpler and less detailed, produces this same effect, implying that the very essence of fear was honored and worshiped. An altar of red lava, dug up in the street behind the cathedral, is grimly adorned with ranked skulls, but the design is so harmonious that death becomes an abstraction, part of a distant universe of fear, and not the imminent individual disaster which besets us moderns. (See Plates 54–55.)

The Calendar Stone embodies a finite statement of the infinity of the Aztec universe. In the center is the face of the Sun God, Tonatiuh, flanked by four cartouches which singly give the dates of the four previous ages of the world and together represent the date of our present era. The twenty names of the days circle this central element, and they, in turn, are ringed with a band of glyphs denoting jade or turquoise, which give the idea of being precious and sym-

*Co-at-li'-kway.

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532 805 bolize the heavens and their color. This strip is girdled by the signs for stars, through which penetrate designs emblematic of the rays of the sun. Two immense Fire Serpents, symbolic of the Year and Time, circle the exterior to meet face to face at the base. Boring back through these forms to the significance behind them, we have a grandiose conception of the majesty of the universe.[11] (See Plate 52, top.)

349 532 In recent years, under the Presidential Palace in Mexico City, a monolith over a meter high was found, which represented a platform and a stair crowned at the top by a similar solar disk. Reliefs on the sides show Huitzilopochtli, God of War, and Tezcatlipoca, God of the Smoking Mirror, symbolizing the sacred war between night and day. Probably the Calendar Stone was set up in much the same manner, and it is tantalizing to think of the lost reliefs which explained and ornamented the great disk when it was in position.[12] (See Plate 52, bottom.)

532 805 782 The historical accounts record that the Calendar Stone was made in 1479 and the great eagle vase of Tizoc during his rule from 1481 to 1486. A trough, extending from the basin to the edge of the vase, has been explained as a drain for blood to run out. However, the design is not keyed to this drain, and the purpose of the basin is to burn hearts, not to receive blood. Therefore, the furrow was probably made by the Spaniards, who sought either to use the vase as a nether millstone or tried unsuccessfully to smash it as an example of idolatry.[13]

532 The dates of these two monuments indicate that this was the time when Aztec civilization burst into flower. It is a tribute to Aztec artists that, originally fettered by the more lowly tasks of handicraft, they could accept the tremendous

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tribe. They elaborated cult ritual and so instilled the realization of the power and proximity of the gods into the minds of the people that even their arts were dedicated chiefly to religious expression. The complicated astronomic and mathematical computations that kept the solar and religious calendars in harmony with the passage of the seasons were also the province of the priesthood. The priests arrayed the dancers, who, depicting mythological events, performed a type of mass drama. Aztec life under hierarchical direction became a pattern of rhythmic ritual, and this continued ceremony served the more firmly to establish the priests as interpreters of the divine order. One has the impression that the priests never overtly showed their temporal power. Situated as they were, with the instruments for interpreting the divine will in their own hands, they had to follow the exactions of ritual far more exigently than did the masses. Were one to choose a single word to describe Aztec government, it would be theocracy. The gods ruled; the priests interpreted and interposed, and the people obeyed, not the priests, but the rhythm of action whereby the gods lived. (See Plate 58, middle.)

At the core of the religion stood the calendar, which was arranged in two divisions: a ritualistic succession of days, the *tonalpohualli* (Table XIII–XVI), and a solar calendar (Table XVII), divided into eighteen twenty-day months and a five-day unlucky period, in which the months' names related to crops and indicated the agricultural origin of this time count. A combination of the two systems permitted the numbering of years, which were counted not on an infinite scale, as with us, but in terms of a fifty-two-year cycle.[a]

The *tonalpohualli*, sometimes erroneously referred to as

[text continues on p. 190. - Analyst]

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## TABLE XI

805 DAY NAMES AND NUMBERS OF THE AZTEC MONTH

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1 | Cipactli (Mythical Water Monster, Crocodile, Alligator) | |
| 2 | Ehecatl (Wind) | |
| 3 | Calli (House) | Year Name |
| 4 | Cuetzpallin (Iguana Lizard) | |
| 5 | Coatl (Snake) | |
| 6 | Miquiztli (Death's-Head) | |
| 7 | Mazatl (Deer) | |
| 8 | Tochtli (Rabbit) | Year Name |
| 9 | Atl (Water) | |
| 10 | Itzcuintli (Dog) | |
| 11 | Ozomatli (Howling Monkey) | |
| 12 | Malinalli (Grass) | |
| 13 | Acatl (Reed) | Year Name |
| 1 | Ocelotl (Ocelot) | |
| 2 | Cuauhtli (Eagle) | |
| 3 | Cozcaquauhtli (Vulture) | |
| 4 | Ollin (Motion, Earthquake) | |
| 5 | Tecpatl (Flint Knife) | Year Name |
| 6 | Quiauitl (Rain) | |
| 7 | Xochitl (Flower) | |
| 8 | Cipactli | |
| 9 | Ehecatl | |
| 10 | Calli | Year Name |
| 11 | Cuetzpallin | |
| 12 | Coatl | |
| 13 | Miquiztli | |
| 1 | Mazatl | |
| 2 | Tochtli | Year Name |
| | *Etc., etc.* | |

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## TABLE XII

TONALPOHUALLI: SEQUENCE OF DAY NAMES, NUMBERS, AND WEEKS 805

| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | I | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Crocodile | [1] | 8 | 2 | 9 | 3 | 10 | 4 | 11 | 5 | 12 | 6 | 13 | 7 | |
| | | | | | | | | | | | | XVIII | | |
| Wind | 2 | 9 | 3 | 10 | 4 | 11 | 5 | 12 | 6 | 13 | 7 | [1] | 8 | |
| | | | | | | | | | | XV | | | | |
| House | 3 | 10 | 4 | 11 | 5 | 12 | 6 | 13 | 7 | [1] | 8 | 2 | 9 | |
| | | | | | | | | XII | | | | | | |
| Lizard | 4 | 11 | 5 | 12 | 6 | 13 | 7 | [1] | 8 | 2 | 9 | 3 | 10 | |
| | | | | | | IX | | | | | | | | |
| Serpent | 5 | 12 | 6 | 13 | 7 | [1] | 8 | 2 | 9 | 3 | 10 | 4 | 11 | |
| | | | | VI | | | | | | | | | | |
| Death's-Head | 6 | 13 | 7 | [1] | 8 | 2 | 9 | 3 | 10 | 4 | 11 | 5 | 12 | |
| | | III | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Deer | 7 | [1] | 8 | 2 | 9 | 3 | 10 | 4 | 11 | 5 | 12 | 6 | 13 | |
| | | | | | | | | | | | | | XX | |
| Rabbit | 8 | 2 | 9 | 3 | 10 | 4 | 11 | 5 | 12 | 6 | 13 | 7 | [1] | |
| | | | | | | | | | | | XVII | | | |
| Water | 9 | 3 | 10 | 4 | 11 | 5 | 12 | 6 | 13 | 7 | [1] | 8 | 2 | |
| | | | | | | | | | XIV | | | | | |
| Dog | 10 | 4 | 11 | 5 | 12 | 6 | 13 | 7 | [1] | 8 | 2 | 9 | 3 | |
| | | | | | | | XI | | | | | | | |
| Monkey | 11 | 5 | 12 | 6 | 13 | 7 | [1] | 8 | 2 | 9 | 3 | 10 | 4 | |
| | | | | | VIII | | | | | | | | | |
| Grass | 12 | 6 | 13 | 7 | [1] | 8 | 2 | 9 | 3 | 10 | 4 | 11 | 5 | |
| | | | V | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Reed | 13 | 7 | [1] | 8 | 2 | 9 | 3 | 10 | 4 | 11 | 5 | 12 | 6 | |
| | II | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Ocelot | [1] | 8 | 2 | 9 | 3 | 10 | 4 | 11 | 5 | 12 | 6 | 13 | 7 | |
| | | | | | | | | | | | | XIX | | |
| Eagle | 2 | 9 | 3 | 10 | 4 | 11 | 5 | 12 | 6 | 13 | 7 | [1] | 8 | |
| | | | | | | | | | | XVI | | | | |
| Vulture | 3 | 10 | 4 | 11 | 5 | 12 | 6 | 13 | 7 | [1] | 8 | 2 | 9 | |
| | | | | | | | | XIII | | | | | | |
| Motion | 4 | 11 | 5 | 12 | 6 | 13 | 7 | [1] | 8 | 2 | 9 | 3 | 10 | |
| | | | | | | X | | | | | | | | |
| Flint Knife | 5 | 12 | 6 | 13 | 7 | [1] | 8 | 2 | 9 | 3 | 10 | 4 | 11 | |
| | | | | VII | | | | | | | | | | |
| Rain | 6 | 13 | 7 | [1] | 8 | 2 | 9 | 3 | 10 | 4 | 11 | 5 | 12 | |
| | | IV | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Flower | 7 | [1] | 8 | 2 | 9 | 3 | 10 | 4 | 11 | 5 | 12 | 6 | 13 | |

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796 805 *tonalamatl*, after the book in which it was recorded, was a sacred almanac. It covered a period of 260 days, the significance of which may have been magical or possibly of an astronomical origin, as yet unexplained. It was composed of the twenty day names of the Aztec month, combined with the numbers one to thirteen (Table XI). Whenever the sequence of numbers ended, the series was repeated, and the same arrangement held true for the list of days. Thus the fourteenth day of the twenty in the list received the number one, and so on up to seven for the twentieth day. Then when the series of day names recommenced the first name was numbered eight. By this means within the 260-day period every day was distinguished by the combination of one of twenty names with one of thirteen numerals. At the close of each period another began immediately, as is shown on Table XI.

This sacred period was further divided into twenty weeks of thirteen days each (Table XII). Every week began with the number one and the day name which came up according to the rotation of the sequence. Thus within the *tonalpohualli* period no day in one week could be confused with that of another, since the name and associated number precluded repetition.[4]

A god or goddess presided over each of the list of twenty days (Table XIII) and over each of the twenty "weeks" (Table XIV). The gods of the weeks followed the same order as the day gods, with this exception, that the god of the eleventh day was dropped from the list, moving the remainder in order up one place each. The resultant vacancy in the twentieth week, was filled by two divinities who exercised joint control. Sometimes there was a further re-

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FIG. 1. AZTEC DAY SIGNS FROM CODEX

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Cipactli* Crocodile | *Ehecatl* Wind | *Calli* House | *Cuetzpallin* Lizard | *Coatl* Snake |
| *Miquiztli* Death | *Mazatl* Deer | *Tochtli* Rabbit | *Atl* Water | *Itzcuintli* Dog |
| *Ozomatli* Monkey | *Malinalli* Herb | *Acatl* Reed | *Ocelotl* Jaguar | *Cuauhtli* Eagle |
| *Cozcaquauhtli* Vulture | *Ollin* Motion | *Tecpatl* Flint Knife | *Quiauitl* Rain | *Xochitl* Flower |

finement whereby the nine gods and goddesses succeeded each other in governing the nights of the *tonalpohualli*, or sacred period (Table XVI). Finally thirteen of these gods influenced the thirteen stations of the Aztec day (Table XV), and nine held sway over the night hours (Table XVI). The names and characters of these divinities are set forth in the accompanying tables.

The array of gods had to be placated and honored at the 796
appropriate time by the priesthood; but the individual, before embarking on an undertaking, could find out the proper

[Text continues on p. 195.--- Analyst]

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## TABLE XIII

## DAY GODS OF TONALPOHUALLI

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| Day | God | Name and Nature |
|---|---|---|
| 1 Crocodile | Tonacatecuhtli | Lord of Our Subsistence, a Creator God |
| 2 Wind | Quetzalcoatl | Feathered Serpent, Sky God, God of Learning |
| 3 House | Tepeyollotl | Heart of Mountains, an Earth God |
| 4 Lizard | Huehuecoyotl | Old Coyote, Mischief-Maker |
| 5 Snake | Chalchihuitlicue | Lady of the Jeweled Robe, Water Goddess |
| 6 Death's-Head | Tecciztecatl | He from the Sea Snail, Moon God |
| 7 Deer | Tlaloc | He Who Makes Things Sprout, Rain God |
| 8 Rabbit | Mayauel | She of the Maguey Plant, Pulque Goddess |
| 9 Water | Xiuhtecuhtli | Lord of Year, Fire God |
| 10 Dog | Mictlantecuhtli | Lord of Region of Dead, Death God |
| 11 Monkey | Xochipilli | Flower Prince, God of Spring and Flowers |
| 12 Grass | Patecatl | He from the Land of Medicines, God of Medicine |
| 13 Reed | Tezcatlipoca or variant like Itzlacoliuhqui | Smoking Mirror, a Great God, cf. Gods of Weeks<br>Carved Obsidian Knife |
| 14 Ocelot | Tlazolteotl | Goddess of Dirt, Earth Mother |
| 15 Eagle | Xipe | Our Lord, the Flayed One, God of Seedtime |
| 16 Vulture | Itzpapalotl | Obsidian Butterfly, a Stellar Goddess |
| 17 Motion | Xolotl or variant | Double, Monster God |
| 18 Flint Knife | Tezcatlipoca or Chalchiuhtotolin | Smoking Mirror, Great God, Jeweled Bird, Week Gods |
| 19 Rain | Chantico | In the House, Goddess of Hearth Fire |
| 20 Flower | Xochiquetzal | Flower Feather, Goddess of Flowers |

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## TABLE XIV

### GODS OF TONALPOHUALLI WEEKS

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| *Week Beginning* | *God* | *Name* |
|---|---|---|
| 1 Crocodile | Tonacatecuhtli | Lord of Our Subsistence, a Creator God |
| 1 Ocelot | Quetzalcoatl | Feathered Serpent, a Sky God |
| 1 Deer | Tepeyollotl | Heart of the Mountains, an Earth God |
| 1 Flower | Huehuecoyotl | Old Coyote, Backbiter, old Otomi tribal god |
| 1 Reed | Chalchihuitlicue | Lady of the Jeweled Robe, Water Goddess |
| 1 Death's-Head | Tecciztecatl | He from the Sea Snail, Moon God |
| 1 Rain | Tlaloc | He Who Makes Things Sprout, Rain God |
| 1 Grass | Mayauel | She of the Maguey Plant, Pulque Goddess |
| 1 Snake | Xiuhtecuhtli | Lord of the Year, Fire God |
| 1 Flint | Mictlantecuhtli | Lord of the Region of the Dead, Death God |
| 1 Howling Monkey | Patecatl | He from the Land of Medicines, God of Medicine |
| 1 Lizard | Itzlacoliuhqui | The Carved Obsidian Knife, God of Cold |
| 1 Motion | Tlazolteotl | Goddess of Dirt, Earth Goddess |
| 1 Dog | Xipe Totec | Our Lord the Flayed One, God of Seedtime |
| 1 House | Itzpapalotl | Obsidian Butterfly, a Stellar Goddess |
| 1 Vulture | Xolotl | Double, Monster God |
| 1 Water | Chalchiuhtotolin | Jeweled Fowl, variant of Tezcatlipoca |
| 1 Wind | Chantico | In the House, Goddess of Hearth Fire |
| 1 Eagle | Xochiquetzal | Flower Feather, Goddess of Flowers |
| 1 Rabbit | Xiuhtecuhtli and Itztli | Lord of Year, Fire God<br>Stone Knife, God of Obsidian Knife |

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## TABLE XV

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### GODS OF THE DAY HOURS AND THEIR ASSOCIATED BIRDS

| *Day Gods* | *Name* | *Associated Bird* |
|---|---|---|
| 1. Xiuhtecuhtli | Fire God | White Hummingbird |
| 2. Tlaltecuhtli | Lord of Earth, the Earth Monster | Green Hummingbird |
| 3. Chalchihuitlicue | Water Goddess | Falcon |
| 4. Tonatiuh | The Sun, Sun God | Quail |
| 5. Tlazolteotl | Earth Mother | Eagle |
| 6. Teoyaomiqui | Warrior Death, Death God | Screech Owl |
| 7. Xochipilli | Flower Prince, God of Flowers | Butterfly |
| 8. Tlaloc | Rain God | Striped Eagle |
| 9. Quetzalcoatl-Ehecatl | God of Learning | Turkey Cock |
| 10. Tezcatlipoca | Great God | Horned Owl |
| 11. Mictlantecuhtli | Death God | Guacamaya |
| 12. Tlahuizcalpantecuhtli | Lord of the House of Dawn, Venus God, variant of Quetzalcoatl | Quetzal |
| 13. Ilamatecuhtli | Old Princess, ancient Earth Goddess | Parrot |

## TABLE XVI

### GODS OF THE NIGHT HOURS AND THEIR ATTRIBUTES IN DIVINATION

| *Night Gods* | | *Significance* |
|---|---|---|
| 1. Xiuhtecuhtli | Fire God | Good |
| 2. Itztli | God of Obsidian Knife | Bad |
| 3. Piltzintecuhtli | Lord of Princes, Sun God | Good |
| 4. Cinteotl | God of Corn, Corn God | Indifferent |
| 5. Mictlantecuhtli | Death God | Bad |
| 6. Chalchihuitlicue | Water Goddess | Indifferent |
| 7. Tlazolteotl | Earth Mother | Bad |
| 8. Tepeyollotl | Earth or Jaguar God | Good |
| 9. Tlaloc | Rain God | Good |

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divinity to appease on the date of that undertaking. It is improbable that the ordinary communicant daily honored each god any more than a Catholic layman prays daily to each saint in the calendar. He did reverence in terms of his own spiritual and actual necessity.

A number of the *tonalamatl* have survived. These reference books for priestly guidance are made of paper beaten from the bark of the amate or wild-fig tree, although some post-Conquest copies were composed of European paper. An ancient book consisted of a long paper strip which was prepared and coated to take paint and subsequently folded screenwise to permit easy handling. Occasionally only one but usually the two open pages were devoted to each week. A large colored drawing depicted the divinity controlling the week, and other figures represented subsidiary gods and objects connected with their worship, such as thorns, incense burners, altars, and the like. The rest of the space was ruled off into squares, in which were painted the requisite thirteen day names and numbers, the gods and goddesses associated with each and occasionally their *nahuals*, the bird or animal forms which the divinities could assume. Obviously only the initiate could make use of this information, which existed in the form of pictures without an explanatory text. However, it is the great good fortune of Mexicanists that some of the friars after the Conquest annotated a few of these manuscripts according to the explanations of Indian informants.[8] (See Plate 59, top.)

The great Aztec ceremonies, however, took place in accordance with the solar year, composed of eighteen months of twenty days and a five-day period which was considered unlucky (Table XVII). The months had names having to do

[Text continues on p. 198.--- Analyst]

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## TABLE XVII

### THE SOLAR YEAR, THE EIGHTEEN MONTHS, AND CEREMONIES

*Months, seasonal character, approximate Gregorian dates, presiding gods and chief ceremonies*

I Atlcoualco (want of water), ceasing of rain [Feb. 12–Mar. 3]. Chalchihuitlicue and Tlalocs. Ceremonies for rain; child sacrifice; Xipe sacrifice with blunt weapons.

II Tlacaxipeualiztli (boning of men), seedtime [Mar. 4–Mar. 23]. God Xipe. Impersonation of Xipe by priests wearing skins of captives; dances by priests wearing human skins; agricultural dances.

III Tozoztontli (short fast), rain desired [Mar. 24–Apr. 12]. Coatlicue and Tlalocs. Child sacrifice to Tlalocs to bring rain; end of Xipe rites which sometimes held over a month.

IV Huei Tozoztli (long fast), worship of new corn [Apr. 13–May 2]. Centeotl and Chicomecoatl. Ceremonial bloodletting; decoration of house altars with corn plants; young girls' ceremony with blessing of seed corn.

V Toxcatl (dry or slippery), rainy season begins [May 3–May 22]. Tezcatlipoca and Huitzilopochtli; god-impersonation ceremonies for either or both great gods (p. 202); scarification of children.

VI Etzalqualiztli (bean porridge), rain desired [May 23–June 11]. Tlalocs. Ceremonial robbing; rain ceremonies; fertility rite, drowning boy and girl in canoe filled with hearts of sacrificial victims.

VII Tecuhilhuitontli (little feast of princes), rain desired [June 12–July 1]. Huixtocihuatl. Ceremony of salt-workers, who leeched product from lake; women's dance with sacrifice of priestess impersonating goddess.

VIII Hueitecuhilhuitl (great feast of rulers), adoration of ripening corn [July 2–July 21]. Xilonen. Feast for Goddess of Young Corn; eight-day feast; women wear hair loose as sympathetic magic; sacrifice of slave girl impersonating goddess; after sacrifice people can eat new corn.

IX Tlaxochimaco (birth of flowers), first flowering [July 22–Aug. 10]. Huitzilopochtli. Feasts on turkeys and corn-meal cakes in honor of the god; great dance with both sexes taking part and men even touching the women; merchants' feast, honoring their patron god Yacatecuhtli.

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X Xocotlhuetzi (fall of the fruits), heat for ripening [Aug. 11–Aug. 30]. Xiuhtecuhtli (Huehueteotl). Furnace sacrifice (p. 202); competitive climbing of high pole by young men to win special insignia at top.

XI Ochpaniztli (month of brooms), refreshment of Earth Mother [Aug. 31–Sept. 19]. Tlazolteotl or Teteoinnan (Toçi). Sacrifice of woman impersonating Goddess of Ripe Corn; efforts to avoid sorrow by buffoonery, sympathetic magic to avoid rains at harvest; review of warriors and distribution of insignia of rank; drills and mock combats of Eagle and Ocelot Knights.

XII Teotleco (return of the gods), harvest [Sept. 20–Oct. 9]. Tezcatlipoca. Ceremonies honoring the return of the gods to the earth; Tezcatlipoca first to come; two absent, Xiuhtecuhtli, too old to travel, Yacatecuhtli, merchant wandering off beaten track; ceremonial drunkenness and furnace sacrifice.

XIII Tepeilhuitl (feast of the mountains), rain [Oct. 10–Oct. 29]. Tlalocs. Ceremonies for mountain rain gods, an aspect of Tlalocs; use of wooden snakes and figurines covered with amaranth paste; sacrifice of four women and a man with subsequent ceremonial cannibalism.

197 XIV Quecholli [bird, quail(?)], rain [Oct. 30–Nov. 18]. Mixcoatl. Making of weapons; general penance of four days; licensed old people abstain from liquor and husbands from their wives; ceremonial hunt with sacrifice of game and ceremonial feasting on the hill.

XV Panquetzaliztli (feast of the flags), winter solstice [Nov. 19–Dec. 8]. Huitzilopochtli. Festivals honoring War God; mock or staged combats; imprinting of hand impressions by captives.

XVI Atemoztli (fall of the waters), rain [Dec. 9–Dec. 28]. Tlalocs. Vigils and offerings to household gods; winter solstice at time of conquest; erection of poles with paper streamers coated with rubber.

XVII Tititl (severe weather), season of serenity [Dec. 29–Jan. 7]. Ilamatecuhtli. Sacrifice of woman impersonating goddess; sympathetic magic to bring rain by weeping, through children crying on first day of month and men and children beating women with straw-filled bags to make them cry.

XVIII Izcalli (resuscitation), toasting of corn supply [Jan. 18–Feb. 6]. Xiuhtecuhtli. Ceremonial hunt; killing of captives every four years; killing of birds and arrow sacrifice at Cuauhtitlan.

Nemontemi (five unlucky days) [Feb. 7–Feb. 11].

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

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1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7



796 805 with farming, and the days of the month were distinguished by numbers, in addition to their *tonalpohualli* name and number described above. Years were identified in terms of the two methods, since they were named for the *tonalpohualli* day on which the year began.*

Only four of the twenty day names could begin the year, as a simple mathematical calculation will prove. Three hundred and sixty-five (the number of days in a year) divided by twenty (the total of the day names) leaves a remainder of five. Thus of the twenty day names only four can begin the year. House, Rabbit, Reed and Flint Knife must always recur as New Year's Day, since they are the third, eighth, thirteenth and eighteenth days in the list, thus being separated from each other by five numbers. In that thirteen, the quantity of numbers available, divides into 365 with a remainder of one, the number of the day increased by one each new year. Thus the years were numerically distinguishable—1 Rabbit, 2 Reed, 3 House, 4 Flint Knife, 5 Rabbit, and so on, until the thirteen numbers and four day names began to repeat themselves, which occurred after fifty-two ($13 \times 4$) years. This is the mathematical reason for the Aztec cycle or major time unit, and in the Valley of Mexico they did not go further and distinguish between cycles except indirectly. In consequence there is the same sort of confusion in referring to events as would result were we to designate years within the century without distinguishing the number of centuries before or after Christ. Thus the discovery of America would be recorded as 92 and the Declaration of Independence as 76, and only a detailed knowledge of history would enable us to fix the events in their proper relationship to the fifteenth and eighteenth centuries. (See Plates 62, top left; 63.)

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7



The lag between the calendric and the solar year, for which we compensate by adding a day every four years as the twenty-ninth of February, was difficult to adjust by Aztec standards since so much of the time count hinged on the orderly mathematical sequence of days. Some authorities believe that the Aztecs let the calendar drop behind, others that compensation was made during the unlucky period of five days. A third suggestion interprets the celebration of a feast held every eight years as a sign that a dateless day was introduced, unrecognized in the *tonalpohualli* of the year but honored with special rites.[7] (See Plate 58, middle.)

However the matter of the leap year was settled, the close of one cycle and the beginning of a new one was celebrated with great pomp each year Two Reed chosen as the first day of each cycle for some ritualistic reason. In the Mixteca-Puebla area the *tonalamatls* show evidence that the priests observed the planet Venus and took note of a Venus Year of 584 days. At the end of two cycles (104 years) there was a tremendous ceremony of great ritualistic significance, for at the same time as the beginning of a Venus count, a solar count, a fifty-two-year cycle, and a *tonalpohualli* all coincided. That four mystical rhythms, affecting such diverse aspects of the universe and the gods that dwelt therein, could meet must have produced great satisfaction and occasioned the utmost rejoicing among people for whom pattern and form had such great significance.[8]

Although the Valley of Mexico Aztecs did not use the Venus count they celebrated the cyclical change with the utmost ceremony. They thought of the change from one cycle to another as the death of one life and the beginning of a new one. The realization that nature could withhold the

And when (there was) no wind, it was calm; the water spread like a mirror, gleaming, glittering.

And when her feast was celebrated, in the month of *Etzalqualiztli*, the eating of boiled corn,[48] then was celebrated the feast of the rain-gods.

They placed her image upon a framework: they put a skirt upon her, and a shift; they placed jewels upon her—a plaited neckpiece, from which hung a golden disc.

And they offered her offerings and the fire priests came out to receive her. They strewed aromatic herbs before her.

With the rattle board of the mist and rain gods, they spoke. The city elders, her singers, sang for her.

And then they slew her impersonator—a slave woman, bought and set forth by those who gained their livelihoods as water-carriers—those who brought in water, who fetched water in canoes; those who owned canoes; those who worked in irrigation ditches; and those who made canoes in the market-place, those who sold water for refreshment.[49]

Likewise they arrayed her, made offerings, and ornamented her. For she would go, when they slew her, to a place called Tlalocan. In the temple of the Tlaloc, they opened her breast.

Then Moctezuma paid great honors to [the goddess]. Before her image, he offered incense and slew quail.

Then they said: "The chief gaineth rain; he doth a penance for his people." And giving thanks, they thus paid honor to the waters.

[For] they remembered that because of her we [may] live. She is our sustenance. And therein come all things that are necessary.

In the same manner they paid honor to the image of corn's sustenance, called Chicome coatl; and to the image of the salt [-goddess], named Uixtociuatl. Thus they remembered what they had done; thus they honored the three.[50]

For indeed, through them the peasant earned his livelihood. Thus might he be satisfied; thus, in truth, might he live.

And thus was she decked: she was painted yellow and blue; she was painted blue about the lips and on her face.[51] She wore a green-stone necklace; she had turquoise [mosaic] ear-plugs. She had a blue paper cap with a spray of quetzal feathers. Her shift and her skirt were painted like water. She bore a shield ornamented with water lily leaf and flower. She carried the rain-corn-bouquet,[52] which she trembled. She wore foam sandals.

Auh yn jquac atle ehecatl, tlamattinanj, anxcantitinanj, petlantimanj, cuecuexeoacatimanj.

Auh yn jquac ilhuiqujxtiloia, çan no iquac yn ezalqualiztli: yn vncan ilhujqujxtililoia tlaloque,

colotli in qujchichioaia yxiptla: qujcuetiaia, qujujpiltiaia, qujcoacatiaia, coxcapetlatl, itech pilcatiuh cuxtic teucujtlacomalli:

yoan qujtlamanjliaia, qujnanamiquj yn jtlenamacacauh, yiauhtli, inpan qujtepevilia,

cuiochicaoaz ilhujtinemj, qujcujcatia in calpoleque, yeujcacaoan.

Auh in vel ixipda, yquac mjquja: tlacotli cioatl in qujcoaia, inhoan qujnextiaia, yn anamacaque: yn atl yc motlaiecultia, yn acaltica atlacuj, yn acaleque, yn apantlaca: yoan acalquetzque tlanquinco, in qujtechieltia atl.

No ioh qujchichioaia, no ioh qujtlamamacaia, no ioh qujcmcaoaia: ioh tlantiuja: in miquja, yeuxiocan tlalocan: yn vncan intrupan, tlaloque, quelteuquja.

Jn jquac y, no cenca qujmaviztiliaia, yn motecuçoma: inpan tlenamacaia, yn jxiptla, qujtlacaoanjlia,

ioh qujxoia: qujauhtlaolanj in tlacatl, qujtlamacahuja yn jmacaoal: yoan vncan mocnelliuati, ynjc qujmahujztiliaia atl:

qujlnamjquja, ca ic tiemj, ca temeca: yoan ic mochioa, yn itquich tetech monequj.

No ioh qujmaviztiliaia, yn jxiptla temacaxtl, yn jnca, chicome coatl; yoã yn jxiptla itzatl, ynca Vixtociuatl: ic qujlnamjquja; yn je tlamanjxti:

ca vel ynnca mochioa in macoualli, ic vellamati, ic vel temj.

Auh yuju, in mochichioaia: mamaxtia, tzotzica, momaxtlac, momoxoxaujlac, mimcoçalhuj, chalchihuacuepa, xiuhnacochtli, tzomalacatl, quetzalmjmjoaia, atlacujlollviçpila, atlacujlolhuiujpila, atlacujlolcuaia, atlacuçquauhchioaia, xiuhcacoçqa, cacalaxa; poçolocqua.

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48. Sahagún (*op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 148): "*este comillo era hecho de maiz cocido, a manera de arroz, y era muy amarillo.*" Durán (*op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 218): "*el maiz cocido por sí solo llamanle pinolli pero a causa de revolverle con frijol (así) le llaman otrally.*"

49. Corresponding Spanish text of the Florentine Codex reads: ". . . *la fantasiaban . . . todos aquellos, que tienen sus granjerias, en el agua como son los que venden agua, en las canoas: y los que venden agua, en tinajas, en la plaça. . . .*"

50. Corresponding Spanish text: ". . . *porque decian, que estos tres dioses: mantenjan, a la gente pagana: para que pudiesen, vivir, y mantenerse.*"

51. Corresponding Spanish text: ". . . *la pintauan, la cara, con color amarilla. . . .*"

52. Corresponding Spanish text: "*Traia en la mano, derecha, un ramo, con tres cosas: hacha a manera, de la centella, en que se finge el serpiente, grande con cola le finge y con cuerno cabeza, dentro dicen.*" See p. 3, note 44. See also illustrations of Chalchiuhtli yoan and Tzapotlan tenan.

# De las Cerimonjas

SECOND BOOK, WHICH TREATETH OF THE FEASTS AND SACRIFICES BY WHICH THESE NATIVES HONORED THEIR GODS IN THEIR STATE OF INFIDELITY.

LIBRO SEGUNDO QUE TRATA DE LAS FIESTAS, Y SACRIFICIOS: CON QUE ESTOS NATURALES, HONRRAUAN A SUS DIOSES, EN EL TIEMPO DE SU INFIDELIDAD.

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**First Chapter, concerning the calendar and the feasts of fixed date, the first of which is the one which followeth.**[2]

**Capitulo primero, del calendario, de las fiestas fixas, la primera de las quales es lo que se sigue.**

The first month of the year was called, among the Mexicans, Atl caualo, and in other parts Quauitl eua. This month began upon the second day of February, when we celebrate the Purification of Our Lady. On the first day of this month, they celebrated a feast in honor—according to some—of the Tlaloc gods, whom they held to be gods of rain; [or]—according to others—of their sister, the goddess of water, Chalchiuhtli icue; [or]—according to [still] others—in honor of the great priest or god of the winds, Quetzalcoatl. And we may say that [they celebrated the feast] in honor of all of these. This month and all the rest, which are eighteen [in number], each have twenty days.

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El primero mes, del año se llamaua entre los mexicanos Atl cacalo: y en otras partes quavitl eoa. Este mes començaua en el segundo dia del mes de Hebrero quando nosotros celebramos, la purificacion, de nuestra señora. En el primero dia deste mes: celebrauan vna fiesta a honrra (segun algunos) de los dioses tlaloques, que los tenjan por dioses de la plouja: y segun otros de su hermana, la diosa del agua, chalchiuhtli ycue: y segun otros a honrra del gran sacerdote, o dios de los vientos quetzalcoatl: y podemos dezir, que a hõrra de todos estos. Este mes, con todos los de mas, que son dezjocho tienen a cada veynte dias.

### Atl caualo or Quauitl eua

### Atl cacalo, o quavitl eoa

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In this month they slew many children; they sacrificed them in many places upon the mountain tops, tearing from them their hearts, in honor of the gods of water, so that these might give them water or rain.

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The children whom they slew they decked in rich finery to take them to be killed; and they carried them in litters upon their shoulders. And the litter went adorned with feathers and flowers. [The

En este mes matauan muchos njños, sacrificauanlos, en muchos lugares en las cumbres de los montes: sacandoles los coraçones a hõrra de los dioses del agua, para que les diesé agua o lluja.

A los njños, que matauan: comjanlos con ricos ataujos para lleuarlos a matar, y lleuauanlos, en vnas literas, sobre los hõbros: y las literas,

1. The first nineteen chapters, largely a digest of more expanded material in Chapters 20-30, are presented synoptically; some of the translations will be found in the later sections. For these nineteen chapters the original has no corresponding Nahuatl text.
2. Marginal notation: *Cobras deste calendario.*
3. Marginal notation: *Cuenta del calendario mexicano.*

3: Sahagún M-S (1529-1590) 1951 NU7 Aztec NU7

The second month they named Tlacaxipeualiztli. On the first day of this month they celebrated a feast in honor of the god called Totec—[or], as another name, called Xipe—when they slew and flayed many slaves and captives.

## Chapter 2
## Tlacaxipeualiztli

From the captives whom they were to slay the owners themselves tore off the hair of the crowns of their heads and kept it as a relic. This they did in the tribal temple before the fire.

When the masters of the captives took their slaves *to the temple where they were to slay them, they* took them by the hair. And when they took them up the steps of the pyramid, some of the captives swooned, and their masters pulled them up and dragged them by the hair to the sacrificial stone where they were to die.

Having brought them to the sacrificial stone, which was a stone of three hands in height, or a little more, and two in width,* or almost, they threw them upon it, on their backs, and five [priests] seized them—two by the legs, two by the arms, and one by the head; and then came the priest who was to kill him. And he struck him with a flint [knife], held in both hands and made in the manner of a large lance head, between the breasts. And into the gash which he made, he thrust his hand and tore from [the victim] his heart; and then he offered it to the sun and cast it into a gourd vessel.

After having torn their hearts from them and poured the blood into a gourd vessel, which the master of the slain man himself received, they started the body rolling down the pyramid steps. It came to rest upon a small square below. There some old men, whom they called Quaquacuilti, laid hold of it and carried it to their tribal temple, where they dismembered it and divided it up in order to eat it.

"Al segundo mes, llamauan tlacaxipeoaliztli. En el primero dia deste mes: hazian vna fiesta a honrra del dios llamado Totec, y por otro nombre se llamaua xipe: donde matauan, y desollauan muchos esclauos y captiuos.

## Cap. 2.
## Tlacaxipeoaliztli

A los captiuos que matauan: arrancauãlos, los cabellos de la coronjlla, y guardauanlos, los mjsmos amos, como por reliquias: esto hazian en el calpul delante del fuego.

Quando lleuauan los señores de los captiuos a sus esclauos al templo: donde los aujan de matar, lleuauanlos por los cabellos: y quando los subian, por las gradas del cu, algunos de los captiuos, desmayauan, y sus dueños los subian arrastrando por los cabellos, hasta el taxon donde aujan de morir.

Llegandolos al taxon: que era vna piedra de tres palmos de alto, o poco mas, y dos de ancho o casi: echauanlos sobre ella de espaldas: y tomauanlos cinco, dos por las piernas, y dos por los braços, y vno por la cabeça: y venja luego el sacerdote, que le auja de matar, y dauale con ambas manos, con vna piedra de pedernal: hecha a manera de hierro de lançon por los pechos, y por el agujero que hazia: metia la mano, y arrancauale el coraçon, y luego le ofrecia al sol, echauale en vna xicara.

Despues de auerles sacado el coraçon, y despues de auer echado la sangre en vna xicara: la qual recebia el señor del mjsmo muerto: echauan el cuerpo a rrodar por las gradas abaxo del cu, yua a parar, en vna placeta abaxo: de allí le tomauan, vnos viejos, que llamavan quaquacujlti, y le lleuauã a su calpul: donde le despedaçauan, y le repartian pa comer.

* Actually a palmo is defined as the span between thumb and end of little finger, hand outstretched. In Webster's Dictionary, the Portuguese palmo is 8.66 in.; in the Encyclopaedia Britannica (14th ed.), the Spanish palmo is 9.229 in. A handbreadth is estimated as 3-4 in.

1. Marginal notation: Cathedra unum pars.
2. Marginal notation: Mortuos habet duo anno.
3. Marginal notation: Homicidij ordinarij et casuj.

3: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1951 NU7 Aztec NU7

The third month they called Toçoztontli. On the first day of this month they observed a feast to the god named Tlaloc, who is the god of rain. On this feast they slew many children upon the mountains. They offered them as sacrifices to this god and to his companions, so that they would give them water.

Al tercero mes, llamavan toçoztontli: en el primer dia deste mes, hazian fiesta al dios llamado Tlaloc: que es dios de las pluujas. En esta fiesta, matauã muchos niños, sobre los montes: ofrecianlos en sacrificio a este dios, y a sus compañeros, para que los diessen agua.

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## Chapter 3
## Toçoztontli

On this feast they offered the first fruits of the flowers which had bloomed earliest that year, on the pyramid named Yopico. And before they had offered them, none dared smell a flower.

Those in charge of the flowers, who are called *xochimanque*, celebrated a feast to their goddess, named Coatl icue, or by another name Coatlan tonan.

Likewise in this month, those who had worn the skins of the dead [sacrificial victims] whom they had flayed the previous month, took [them] off. They went to cast them into a cave in the pyramid which they called Yopico; they went in procession to do this, and [performed] many ceremonies. They went stinking like dead dogs. And after they had left them [in the cave], they washed themselves, [performing] many ceremonies. A number of the sick made vows to attend this procession, in order to recover from their sickness, and they say that some [of them] recovered.

The masters of the [sacrificed and flayed] captives, with all those of their households, did penance for twenty days: neither did they bathe nor wash their heads until the skins of the dead captives were deposited in the cave mentioned above. They said that they did penance for their captives.

After they had ended the penance, they bathed and washed themselves, and summoned all their kin and friends, and gave them food. And they performed many ceremonies with the bones of the dead captives.

1. Marginal notation: Apollo Sobre dios ano.

## Cap. 3.
## Toçoztontli.

En esta fiesta: ofrecian las primicias de las flores, que aquel año primero nacian en el cu, llamado iopico: y antes que las ofreciessen, nadie osaua oler flor.

Los officiales de las flores, que se llaman xochimanque: hazian fiesta, a su diosa llamada Coatl icue, y por otro nombre coatlã tona.

Tambien en este mes: se desnuauan, los q̃ trayan vestidos, los pellejos de los muertos, q̃ auian desollado el mes passado: yuanlos a echar en vna cueua, en el cu, que llamauan iopico: yuan a hazer esto, con procesion: y cõ muchas cerimonjas, yuan hediendo, como perros muertos: y despues que los auian dexado: se lauauan, con muchas cerjmonjas: Algunos enfermos hazian voto, de hallarse presentes, a esta procesion, por sanar de sus enfermedades: y dizen, que algunos sanauan.

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Los ducños de los cautiuos, con todos los de su casa, hazian penjtencia, veynte dias: que nj se bañauan, nj se lauauan las cabeças: hasta que se ponjan los pellejos, de los captiuos muertos, en la cueua arriba dicha: dezian que hazian penjtencia, por sus captiuos.

796 785 783

Despues que auian acabado la penjtencia: bañauanse, y lauauanse, y combidauan a todos, sus parientes, y amigos, y dauanles comjda: y hazian muchas cerjmonjas, con los huesos, de los cautiuos muertos.

2. Marginal notation: Manos agujeradas.

The fourth month they called Uei tozoztli. On the first day of this month they celebrated a feast in honor of the god named Cinteotl, whom they regarded as god of maize. In his honor they fasted four days before the arrival of the feast.

Chapter 4
Uei tozoztli

In this feast they placed reeds at the doors of the houses. They sprinkled them with the blood from their ears or from the calves of their legs. Besides these, the nobles and the rich set up in their houses some branches which they called *acxoyatl*. Likewise, they set up branches for their gods, and set forth flowers for [the gods] which each one had in his house.

After this, they went about the maize fields and brought stalks of the maize (which was still small), and they garnished them with flowers and went to place them before their gods, in the house called *calpulli*; and also they set food before them.

Having done this in the various suburbs, they went to the pyramid of the goddess whom they called Chicome coatl, and there, before her, they enacted skirmishes in the manner of battles. And all the girls bore upon their backs ears of maize [grown] the year before. They went in procession, to present them to the goddess Chicome coatl, and they returned them once more to their house[s] as blessed thing[s]; and from them they took the seed to plant next year. And also they put it [away] as the heart of the grain bins, because it was blessed.

They made of dough (which they call *tzoalli*) the image of this goddess in the courtyard of her pyramid; and before her they offered all kinds of maize, and all kinds of beans, and all kinds of *chia*. For they said that she was the maker and giver of all these things which are the necessaries of life, that the people may live.

1. Marginal notation: Sacrificio ante el dios [illegible]

Al quarto mes llamauan, Vey tozoztli: en el primero dia deste mes: hazia fiesta a honrra del dios llamado Cinteutl, que le tenjan por dios de los mahizes: a honrra deste, ayunauan quatro dias, ante de llegar la fiesta.

Cap. 4.
Vey tozoztli

En esta fiesta, ponjan espadañas a las puertas de las casas ensangrentauanlas, con sangre de las orejas, o de las espinjllas: los nobles y los ricos, de mas de las espadañas, enrramauan sus casas, con vnos ramos, que llaman acxoxtl. Tambien enrramauan a sus dioses, y las ponjan flores a los que cada vno tenja en su casa.

Despues desto, yuan por los mahizales, y trayan cañas de mahiz (que aun estaua pequeño) y componjanlas con flores y yuanlas a poner delante de sus dioses, a la casa que llamauan calpulli: y tambien ponjan comjda delante dellos.

Despues de echo esto, en los barrios: yuan al cu, de la diosa, que llamauan chicome coatl: y alli delante della hazian escaramuças a manera de pelea: y todas las muchachas lleuauan a cuestas, maçorcas de mahiz del año pasado: yuan en procsion, a presetarlas, a la diosa chicome coatl: y tornauanlas otra vez a su casa como cosa bendita, y de alli tomauan la semjlla, para sembrar el año venidero: y tambien ponjanlo por coraçon, de las trojes, por estar bendito.

Hazian de masa (que llaman tzoalli) la ymagen desta diosa, en el patio de su cu, y delante della: ofrecian todo genero de mahiz, y todo genero de frisoles, y todo genero de chien: porque dezian, que ella era la sustenta, y dadora de aquellas cosas, que son mantenimjentos, para biuir la gente.

The fifth month they called Toxcatl. On the first day of this month they celebrated a great feast in honor of the god named Titlacauan, and for another name, Tezcatlipoca. This one they held to be god of the gods. In his honor, they slew, in this feast, a chosen youth who might have no blemishes upon his body, [who was] reared in all luxuries for the space of a year, [and] trained in the playing [of musical instruments], and in singing, and in speaking.

Al quinto mes llamauan Toxcatl: el primero dia deste mes: hazian gran fiesta a honrra del dios llamado Titlacaoa, y por otro nombre Tezcatlibuca: a este tenjan por dios de los dioses: a su honrra matauan en esta fiesta vn mancebo escogido, ꝙ ninguna tacha ruujese en su cuerpo: criado en todos deleytes, por espacio de vn año, instruto en tañer, y en cantar, y en hablar.

## Chapter 8
### Toxcatl

This feast was the most important of all the feasts. It was like Easter, and fell near Easter Sunday—a few days after. This youth, reared as hath been said, was very comely, and chosen from many. He had long hair—down to the waist.

When, on this feast, they slew the young man who had been reared for [the rôle], they at once produced another, who was to die after one year. He walked everywhere in the town finely arrayed with flowers in his hand, and with people who accompanied him. He greeted with good grace those whom he met. All knew that this one was the likeness of Tezcatlipoca, and they bowed before him and worshiped him whenever they met him.

Twenty days before this feast came, they gave this young man four comely young women reared for [the part], with whom for all the twenty days, he had carnal relations. And they changed his array when they gave him these young women: [they] clipped his hair like a war captain and gave him more finery [even] braver [than what he had had].

Five days before he was to die, they celebrated feasts for him and banquets, in cool and pleasant places. Many of the leading men accompanied him. On the arrival of the day he was to die, they took him to a pyramid or sanctuary which they called

## Cap. 8.
### Toxcatl

Esta fiesta, era la principal de todas las fiestas, era como pascua, y caya cerca de la pascua de resurrection pocos dias despues: este mancebo criado, como esta dicho era muy bien dispuesto, y escogido entre muchos: tenja los cabellos largos hasta la cinta.

Quando en esta fiesta mataũ al mancebo que estaua criado para esto: luego sacauan otro: el qual auja de morir dẽde a vn año, andaua por todo el pueblo muy ataujado con flores en la mano, y con personas que le acõpañauan saludaua a los que topaua graciosamẽte: todos sabian que era aquel a quien la ymagẽ de Tezcatlipuca: y se prosternauan delante del, y le adoraũan donde quiera que le topauan.

Viente dias antes que llegasse esta fiesta: dauã a este mancebo quatro moças, bien dispuestas y criadas para esto: con las quales todos los veinte dias tenja cõuersaciõ carnal: y mudauanle el traje, quando le dauã estas moças, cortauale los cabellos como capitã y dauãle otros ataujos mas galanes.

Cinco dias antes que muriesse: hazianle fiestas y vanquetes en lugares frescos y ameno: acompañauanle muchos principales: llegado el dia donde auja de morir: lleuauanle a un cu, o oratorio que llamauã tlacuchcalco. y ante que llegasse allí en vn lugar que

1. Marginal notation: *Misa de dia cruz.*

2. Marginal notation: *Nota. Adelãte segũ Pan.*

3: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1951 NU7 Astec NU7

The sixth month they called Etzalqualiztli. On the first day of this month they observed a feast to the rain gods. In honor of these gods, the priests of these gods fasted before their feast came for four days, which are the four last days of the previous month.

Al sexto mes llamauan Etzalqualiztli: en el primero dia deste mes: hazian fiesta a los dioses de la pluuja: a honrra destos dioses, ayunauã los sacerdotes destos dioses: quatro dias antes de llegar a su fiesta, que son los quatro postreros dias del mes pasado.

## Chapter 6
## Etzalqualiztli

In order to celebrate this feast, the priests and servants of the idols went to Citlaltepec for reeds; for they grew very large and handsome in the waters called Temilco. From there they brought them to Mexico to adorn the pyramids. On the road which they took, no one appeared; all wayfarers hid themselves, for fear of them. And if they came upon one, they took from him whatever he had, even leaving him naked. And if he resisted, they belabored him such that they left him for dead. And even if he bore tribute for Moctezuma, they took it from him. And for this they visited upon them no punishment; because, since they were servants of the idols, they had license to do these things, and others [even] worse, with no punishment. Many other ceremonies the priests of the temple performed in these four days, which are put forth at length in the account of the feast.

On the arrival of the feast of Etzalqualiztli, everyone made a kind of gruel or porridge which is called etzalli (a delicious food, which they liked well). All ate in their houses, and gave [of it] to those who came, and did a thousand follies on this day.

On this same feast, they punished terribly servants of the idols guilty of committing some fault in their service; [they misbehaved] them in the water of the lagoon to such a point that they left them for dead. And thus they left them there at the edge of the water. From there their parents or relatives took them and carried them to their houses, half dead.

On this same feast they slew many captives and

1. Marginal notations begin the date sets.

## Cap. 6.
## Etzalqualiztli.

*1 g* KL. *g 13*
*2 A* Para la celebracion desta fiesta: los *A 14*
*3 b* satrapas de los ydolos y sus mjnjstros, *b 15*
*4 c* yuã por juncas a Citlaltepec: que se *c 16*
*5 d* hazẽ muy grãdes y muy hermosas en *d 17*
*6 e* vn agua que se llama temjlco, de alli *e 18*
*7 f* las trayan a Mexico: para adornar los *f 19*
*8 g* cues, por el camjno donde venjã, nadie *g 20*
*9 A* parecia: todos los camjnãtes se ab- *A 21*
*10 b* scondian de mjedo dellos, y si con *b 22*
*11 c* alguno encõtrauã: tomauãle quãto *c 23*
*12 d* traya hasta dexalle en pelo, y si se *d 24*
*13 e* defendia: maltrataualle de tal manera *e 25*
*14 f* q̃ lé dexauã por muerto: y aunque *f 26*
*15 g* lleuasse el tributo para Motecuçoma se *g 27*
*16 A* le tomauan: y por esto njnguna pena *A 28*
*17 b* las dauã: porque por ser mjnjstros de *b 29*
*18 c* los ydolos, tenjã libertad para hazer *c 30*
*19 d* estas cosas, y otras peores sin pena njn- *d 31*
*20 e* guna. Otras muchas cerimonjas hazian *e 1'*
los satrapas del templo en estos quatro dias que estan a la larga puestas en la historia desta fiesta.

Allegada la fiesta de Etzalqualiztli: todos hauiã vna manera de puchas o polcadas que se llama Etzalli (comjda delicada a su gusto) todos comjan en su casa, y dauan a los que venjan, y hazian mjll locuras en este dia.

En esta mesma fiesta, a los mjnjstros de los ydolos que avian hecho algun defecto en el seruicio dellos: castigauanlos terriblemẽte en el agua de la laguna tãto que los dexauã por muertos: y assi los dexauã allí a la orilla del agua: de allí los tomauã sus padres o parientes, y los lleuauã a sus casas medio muertos.

En este mjsmo mes matauã muchos cativos y otros

The seventh month they named Tecuilhuitontli. On the first day of this month they celebrated a feast to the goddess of salt, whom they called Uixtociuatl. They said that she was elder sister of the Tlaloc gods. In honor of this goddess they slew a woman decked in the ornaments with which they represented the same goddess.

Al septimo mes llamauan Tecuilhujtontli: En el primero dia deste mes: hazian fiesta a la diosa de la sal que llamauan Vixtociuatl: deziã que era hermana mayor, de los dioses tlaloques: matauan a honrra desta diosa vna muger compuesta con los ornamẽtos que pintauã a la misma diosa.

## Chapter 7
## Tecuilhuitontli

On the eve of this feast, all the old women sang and danced, as well as the young women and girls. They were held by some short cords which they carried in their hands, one [taking] one end, another the other [end]. These cords they named *xochimecatl*. They all were garlands of wormwood [flowers] of this land, which are called *iztauhiatl*. A number of old men led them and ordered the singing. Among them went the woman who was the likeness of this goddess and who was to die arrayed in rich ornaments.

On the night before the feast, the women, with the same one who was to die, kept vigil; and they sang and danced all night long. At break of day, all the priests arrayed themselves and performed a very solemn dance. And all who were present at the dance held in their hands those flowers which are called *cempoalxochitl*. Thus dancing, they took many captives to the Pyramid of Tlaloc, and, with them, the woman who was to die, who was the likeness of the goddess Uixtociuatl. There they slew first the captives and then her.

Many other ceremonies were performed during this feast; and also [there was] great drunkenness, all of which is set forth at length in the account of this feast, *fol.* 76.

## Cap. 7
## Tecuilhujtontli.

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | f | XI. | Tecuilhujtontli. | f | 2¹ | |
| 2 | g | La vigilia desta fiesta cantauan y | | g | 3 | [535] |
| 3 | A | dançauan todas las mugeres, viejas, y | | A | 4 | |
| 4 | b | moças y muchachas yvan asidas de | | b | 5 | |
| 5 | c | vnas cuerdas cortas que lleuauan en las | | c | 6 | |
| 6 | d | manos, la vna por el vn cabo, y la otra | | d | 7 | [301 |
| 7 | e | por el otro: a estas cuerdas llamauan | | e | 8 | 137] |
| 8 | f | sochimecatl: lleuauan todas guirnaldas | | f | 9 | |
| 9 | g | de axenxos desta tierra que se llama | | g | 10 | |
| 10 | A | iztauhiatl: guiaualas vnos viejos, y | | A | 11 | |
| 11 | b | regian al canto en medio dellas yva la | | b | 12 | |
| 12 | c | muger que era la ymagen desta diosa, | | c | 13 | |
| 13 | d | y que avia de morir adereçada con | | d | 14 | |
| 14 | e | ricos ornamentos. | | e | 15 | |
| 15 | f | La noche antes de la fiesta: velauan | | f | 16 | [535] |
| 16 | g | las mugeres con la misma que auja de | | g | 17 | |
| 17 | A | morir, y cantauan, y dançauan toda la | | A | 18 | |
| 18 | b | noche: venjda la mañana: aderença- | | b | 19 | |
| 19 | c | uanse todos los satrapas, y hazian vn | | c | 20 | [137] |
| 20 | d | areyto muy solemne: y todos los que | | d | 21 | |

estauan presẽtes al areyto, tenjan en la mano aquellas flores que se llaman cempoalxochitl: assi baylando lleuauan muchos cautivos al çu, de Tlaloc: y con ellos a la muger que auja de morir que era imagen de la diosa Vixtociuatl: alli matauan primero a los captivos, y despues a ella.

Otras muchas cerimonjas se hazian en esta fiesta, y tambien gran borracheria: todo lo qual esta a la larga puesto en la hiſtoria desta fiesta. fo. 76. [273]

1. Marginal notation: Maravillas, para, aqui Ihes.

The eighth month they called Uei tecuilhuitl. On the first day of this month they observed a feast to the goddess named Xilonen (goddess of the tender maize). On this feast they gave food to all the poor men and women—old men, old women, boys, girls—in honor of the goddess. They slew a woman, on the tenth day of this month, arrayed in the ornaments with which they represented the same goddess.

Al octauo mes llamauã Vei tecujlhujtl: En el primero diã deste mes, haziã fiesta a la diosa llamada Xilonen (diosa de los xilotes) en esta fiesta dauã de comer a todos los pobres hombres y mugeres, viejos y viejas, njños y njñas, a honrra desta diosa: matauã a vna muger a diez dias deste mes, compuesta cõ los ornamẽtos con que pintauã a la mjsma diosa.

## Chapter 8
## Uei tecuilhuitl

For eight uninterrupted days before the feast, they fed men and women, young and old. Then, very early in the morning they gave them to drink a kind of gruel which they call *chienpinolli*. Each one drank as much as he wished. And at noon they placed all in order, seated in their rows, and they gave them *tamales*. He who gave them [out], gave each one as many as he could hold in one hand. And if one of them exceeded the bounds of custom so much as to take [*tamales*] twice, they mishandled him and took from him those which he had, and he went with nothing. This [feasting] the lords brought about in order to give comfort to the poor; for at this time, ordinarily, there is a want of the necessities of life.

All these eight days they danced and moved in rhythm, men and women together performing the ceremonious movement, all heavily adorned with rich vestments and jewels. The women wore their hair unbound; they went with hair down, dancing and singing with the men. This dance began at sundown, and they continued in it until nine o'clock. They carried many lights (like great torches) of resinous wood, and there were many braziers or bonfires which burned in the same courtyard in which they danced. In this dance or solemn movement they went with hands joined [to those of other dancers], or embraced—the arm of one grasping the body of another as in an embrace, and the other likewise [holding still] another, men and women [alike].

1. Marginal notation: *Xocotl quahoi* [illegible] *se acabó.*
3. Marginal notation: *Pij papaz se hizo.*

## Cap. 8.
## Vei tecujlhujtl

Dauan de comer a hombres y mugeres chicos y grãdes ocho dias continuos, antes de la fiesta hazẽ muy de mañana dauãles a beuer vna manera de maçamorra que llamã chienpinolli: cada vno bueja quãto queria: y al medio dia ponjãlos todos por orden en sus rencleras sentados, y dauanlos tamales: el que los daua, daua a cada vno quãtos podia abarcar con vna mano: y si alguno se desmãdaua a tomar dos vezes maltratauanle, y tomauanle los que tenja, y yuase sin nada. Esto hazian los señores por consolar a los pobres: porque en este tiempo ordinariamente ay falta de mãtenjmjentos.

Todos estos ocho dias baylauan, y dançauã: haziendo areyto hombres y mugeres todos juntos todos muy ataujados con ricas vestiduras y joyas: las mugeres trayan los cabellos sueltos, andauan en cabello baylando y cantando cõ los hombres començaua este areyto en ponjendose el sol, y perseuerauan en el, hasta ora de las nueue: trayã muchas lumbreras (como grãdes hachas) de tea, y aujan muchos braseros o hogueras, que ardian en el mjsmo patio dõde baylauan. En este bayle o areyto andauã trauados de las manos, o abraçados, el braço del vno asido del cuerpo como abraçado, y el otro asimjsmo del otro hombres y mugeres.

2. Marginal notation: *Jullio los dias mes.*

X 796 [805 776] **The ninth month** they called Tlaxochimaco. On the first day of this month they held a feast in honor of the god of war, named Uitzilopochtli. In this they offered him the first flowers [grown] in that year.

### Chapter 9
### Tlaxochimaco

[23] 262] On the night before this feast, all busied themselves in killing fowls and dogs, in order to eat them, and in making *tamales* and other things concerned with food. Then, very early in the morning of this [778] feast, the priests of the idols decked Uitzilopochtli with many flowers; and after the statue of this god was adorned, they decorated the statues of the other gods with garlands and strings and wreaths of flowers. And then they decked all the other statues in the tribal temples and young men's houses. And in the houses of the majordomos and leading men and common folk, all decorated with flowers the statues which they had in their houses.

X 796 535 Having decorated the statues of all the gods, they then began to eat that fare which they had prepared the night before; and, a little after eating, they started a kind of dance in which the noblemen, with women, together danced grasping each other's hands, and the ones embracing the others, arms thrown about each other's necks. They did not dance solemnly in the manner of a ceremonial dance, nor did they go through the movements of a ceremonial dance; but [534 778] they went step by step, to the rhythm of those who beat [the drums] and sang, all of whom were standing, a little to one side of those who danced, near a circular altar which they called *momoztli*.

This chanting lasted until nightfall. Not only in the pyramid courtyards but in all the houses of the leading men and the common folk they beat [the [273] drums] and sang with a great din until night. And the old men and the old women drank wine; but no young man nor young woman drank it. And if [any] of them did drink it, they punished them sorely. Many other ceremonies were performed in this, which are [described] at length. Etc.

**Al nono mes** llamauan Tlaxochimaco: El primero dia deste mes hazian fiesta a honrra del dios de la guerra llamado Vitzilobuchtli: offrecianle en ella las primeras flores de aquel año.

### Cap. 9
### Tlaxochimaco

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | d | KL | Tlaxochimaco | d | 12 |
| 2 | e | | La noche antes desta fiesta ocupa- | e | 13 |
| 3 | f | | uanse todos en matar gallinas y perros | f | 14 |
| 4 | g | | para comer, en hazer tamales y otras | g | 15 |
| 5 | A | | cosas concernjentes a la comjda: luego | A | 16 |
| 6 | b | | de mañanjca el dia desta fiesta: los | b | 17 |
| 7 | c | | satrapas de los ydolos, componjã cõ | c | 18 |
| 8 | d | | muchas flores a Vitzilobuchtli, y des- | d | 19 |
| 9 | e | | pues de compuesta la estatua deste | e | 20 |
| 10 | f | | dios: componjan las estatuas de los | f | 21 |
| 11 | g | | otros dioses con guirnaldas y sartales | g | 22 |
| 12 | A | | y collares de flores: y luego cõponjan | A | 23 |
| 13 | b | | todas las otras estatuas de los calpules, | b | 24 |
| 14 | c | | y telpuchcales: y en las casas de los cai- | c | 25 |
| 15 | d | | piques y principales y maceguales, | d | 26 |
| 16 | e | | todos componjan las estatuas que ten- | e | 27 |
| 17 | f | | jan en sus casas con flores. | f | 28 |
| 18 | g | | Compuestas las estatuas todos los | g | 29 |
| 19 | A | | dioses: luego començauan a comer | A | 30 |
| 20 | b | | aquellas viandas que tenjan aparejadas | b | 31 |

de la noche passada, y dende a vn poco despues de comer: començauan vna manera de bayle o dança: en la qual los hombres nobles con mugeres juntamente baylauan asidos de las manos y abraçados los vnos con los otros: echados los braços sobre el cuello el vno del otro: no dançauan a manera de areyte, nj hazian los meneos como en el areyte, sino yvan paso a paso: al son de los que tanjan y cantauan los quales estauan todos en pie, apartados vn poco de los que baylauan, cerca de vn altar redondo que llaman momuztli—

Duraua este cantar hasta la noche: no solo en los patios de los cues: pero en todas las casas de principales y maceguales, tañjã y cantauan con gran bozeria hasta la noche: y los viejos y viejas beujan el octli: pero njngun mancebo nj moça lo beuja: y si alguno lo beuja castigauanlos reziamente. Otras muchas cerimonjas se hazian en esta: que esta a la larga. Etc.

The tenth month they named Xocotl uetzi. On the first day of this month, they observed a feast to the god of fire, named Xiuhtecutli or Ixcoçauhqui. On this feast they cast into the fire, alive, many slaves, bound hand and foot, and before they had quite died, they took them forth, dragging [them] out of the fire, in order to tear out their hearts before the image of this god.

Al decimo mes llamauan Xocotl uetzi: En el primero dia deste mes, haziã fiesta al dios del fuego llamado xiuhtecutli o Jzcoçauhquj: en esta fiesta echauã en el fuego viuos muchos esclauos, atados de pies y manos, y antes que acabasen de morir, los sacauã arrastrando del fuego para sacar el coraçon delante la ymagen deste dios.

## Chapter 10
### Xocotl uetzi

During the feast of Tlaxochimaco, they went forth into the forest [and] cut a tree of twenty-five fathoms' height and brought it, dragging it, to the courtyard of this god. There they pruned off all its branches and raised it upright, and it remained thus standing until the eve of the feast. Then they again laid it upon the earth with much caution and [using] many devices that it might not bump [the ground]. On the day before this feast, early in the morning, many carpenters came with their tools, and they trimmed it and made it very smooth. After having trimmed it and decorated it with many kinds of papers, they tied ropes and other cords to it and raised it up with much shouting and din, and they made it firm.

As soon as the beam or tree was raised and adorned with all of its finery, then those who had slaves to cast alive into the flames adorned themselves with their plumage and rich ornaments, and they stained their bodies yellow, which was the livery of fire; and, taking their captives with them, they performed a dance all that day, until nightfall.

After the captives had kept vigil all that night on the pyramid, and after having performed many ceremonies with them, they cast into their faces some powder which they call *yiauhtli*, that they might lose their sense of feeling and not suffer so greatly [the

1. Marginal notation: *disputes de dios uuey.*
2. Marginal notation: *Borracho ahbato.*

pains of] their death.

## Cap. 10.
### Xocotl uetzi

Durante la fiesta de tlaxochimaco: yuã al monte cortauan vn arbol de altura de veinte y cinco braças y trayanle arrastrando hasta el patio deste dios: allí le escamondauan todo, y le leuantauan enhiesto y estaua assi enhiesto hasta la vigilia vigilie de la fiesta entonce le tornauã a echar en tierra cõ mucho tiẽto y cõ muchos pertrechos para que no diesse golpe: la vigilia desta fiesta, bien de mañana venjan muchos carpinteros con sus herramietas y mondauãle y hazianle muy liso. Despues de mondado y de auerle cõpuesto cõ muchas maneras de papeles: atauanle sogas y otros mecates y leuantauanle con muchas bozes y muchos estruendos y afixauanle muy bien.

Desque la viga o arbol estaua leuãtada y adornada cõ todos sus aparejos: luego los que tenjã esclauos para echar en el fuego viuos aderecaũse con sus plumajes y ataujos ricos: y tiñjanse el cuerpo de amarillo que era la librea del fuego y lleuando sus captiuos consigo: hazian areyto todo aquel dia hasta la noche.

Despues de auer velado toda aquella noche los captiuos en el cu, y despues de auer hecho muchas cerimonjas con ellos, enpoluorizauanlos las caras con vnos poluos que llamã yiauhtli: para que perdiessen el sentido, y no sintiessẽ tanto la muerte, atauanlos

2. Marginal notation: *Pone al ombro.*

**The eleventh month** they named Ochpaniztli. On the first day of this month they celebrated a feast to the mother of the gods, named Teteo innan, or Toçi, which meaneth "Our Grandmother." They danced in silence for the honor of this goddess, and in great silence slew a woman dressed with the ornaments with which they represented this goddess.

**Al vndecimo mes** llamauan Ochpanjztli: El primero dia, deste mes, hazia fiesta a la madre de los dioses llamada Teteu inna o Toci, que quiere dezir nuestra abuela: baylauan a honrra desta diosa en silencio y matauan vna muger en gran silencio vestida con los ornamentos que pintauan a esta diosa.

796 [805 776]

## Chapter 11
## Ochpaniztli

Five days before this month began, all the feasts and merry making of the previous month ceased. Entering this month, they danced eight days without singing and without beating the two-toned drum. These past, there came forth the woman who was the likeness of the goddess whom they name Teteo innan, arrayed with the ornaments with which they pictured the same goddess; and a great number of women came forth with her, especially the medicine women and midwives. And they split into two bands and fought, pelting each other with balls made of tree parasites and from the leaves of the *tuna* cactus and with balls made from the leaves of reeds, and with flowers which they call *cempoalxochitl*. This merry making lasted four days.

These ceremonies and others of like kind ended, they brought it about that that woman should not know she was to die, so that she should neither weep nor be saddened; for they held that to be an omen of evil. The night when she was to die having fallen, they decked her very richly, and persuaded her that they were taking her so that some great lord might sleep with her; and they bore her in great silence to the pyramid where she was to die. Having taken her up, one [of the priests] took her upon his back, shoulder against shoulder, and *swiftly* they struck off her head, and then they flayed her. And a stout youth put on her skin.

This one who wore the skin of the woman whom they had slain they then bore off with great solem-

1. Marginal notation: September 1st day.

## Cap. 11.
## Ochpanjzli.

Cinco dias antes que començase este mes: cessauan todas las fiestas y regozijos del mes pasado entrando este mes, baylauã ocho dias sin cantar, y sin teponaztli: los quales pasados, salia la muger que era ymagen de la diosa q̃ llaman teteu inna, compuesta con los ornamẽtos con que pintauan a la mjsma diosa, y salian grã numero de mugeres con ella: especialmente las medicas y parteras: y partianse en dos vandos y peleauan apedreandose con pellas de pachtli y con hojas de tunas y cõ pellas hechas de hojas de espadañas, y con flores que llamã cempoalsochitl. Este regozijo duraua quatro dias.

[534 535]

[754]

[524 197]

Acabado estas cerimonjas y otras desta calidad: procurauan que aquella muger no entendiesse que auja de morir porque no llorasse nj se entristeciesse porque lo tenjan por mal aguero: venjda la noche en que auja de morir, stajauanla muy ricamente, y hazialla entender que la lleuauan para que dormjesse con ella algun gran señor: y lleuauanla con grã silencio al cu, donde auja de morir: subida arriba, tomauala vno a cuestas espaldas con espaldas, y de presto la cortauan la cabeça, y luego la desollauan: y con mancebo robusto vestiase el pellejo.

[787]

Este que vestia el pellejo desta que matauan: lleuauanle luego con mucha solenjdad y acõpañan-

The twelfth month they named Teotl eco, which meaneth "The Arrival of the Gods." They celebrated this feast in honor of all the gods; for they said that they had gone to a number of places. They observed a great feast on the last day of this month because their gods had arrived.

Al dozeno mes llamauan Teutl eco, que quiere dezir la llegada le los dioses celebrauan esta fiesta, a honrra de todos los dioses, porque dezian que auian ydo a algunas partes, hazian gran fiesta el postrero dia deste mes, porque sus dioses auian llegado.

796 X
[805 ●
776]

## Chapter 12
### Teotl eco

On the fifteenth day of this month the young men and boys strewed boughs on all the altars and shrines of the gods, both those which were in the houses and those which were along the roads and crossroads. And for this activity which they performed they gave them maize; [to some they] gave a large basket full of maize, and to others two or three ears.

On the eighteenth day arrived the god (who is always a young man whom they called Tlamatzincatl; that is, Tzitzcauan). They said that, because he was young and strong, he traveled better and arrived first. They then set forth food on his pyramid, and that night they ate and drank, and all made merry, especially the old men and the old women, who drank wine because of the arrival of the god. And they said that with this rejoicing they washed his feet for him.

On the last day of this month was the great feast; for they said that all the gods then arrived. On the eve of this day, at night, they made, on a mat, a very closely packed small cake of cornmeal, in the shape of a cheese. Upon this small cake the gods impressed the print of a foot as a sign that they had come. All night long the principal priest watched, and came and went many times to see when he would descry the print.

Seeing the mark of a footprint, the priest then cried out, saying "Our lord hath come!" Then the priests of the pyramid began to sound horns, and conch shells, and trumpets, and other instruments of those

Cap. 12

Teutl eco

*A* KL. A los quinze dias deste mes: los moços y muchachos, enrramauan todos los altares y oratorios de los dioses: assi los que estauan dentro de las casas como por los camjnos y encruzijadas, y por esta diligencia que hazian dauãlos mahiz, algunos dauan vn chiqujvitl lleno de mahiz, y a otros dos o tres maçorcas.

*A* 10 *b* 11 *c* 12 *d* 13 *e* 14 *f* 15 *g* 16 *A* 17 *b* 18 *c* 19

[465]

*d* A los deziocho dias: llegaua el dios (que siempre es mançebo que le llamauã tlamatzincatl: este es titlacauã) deziã que por ser mancebo y rezio, camjnaua mejor, y llegaua primero: luego ofreciã comjda en su cu, y aquella noche comjan y beujan todos: especialmente los viejos, y viejas que beujan vino, por la llegada del dios: y dezian que lo lauauã los pies con este regozijo.

*d* 20 *e* 21 *f* 22 *g* 23 *A* 24 *b* 25 *c* 26 *d* 27 *e* 28 *f* 29

[776]

[273]

El postrero dia deste mes era la gran fiesta: porque dizen que todos los dioses llegauan entonce: la vigilia deste dia, a la noche hazian encima de vn petate de harina de mahiz vn mõtonzillo muy tupido de la forma de vn queso: en este montonzillo imprimjan los dioses la pisada de vn pie en señal que avian llegado: toda la noche el principal satrapo velaua y yua y venja muchas vezes a mjrar quando veria la pisada.

[252]

En vinjendo el satrapa la señal de la pisada luego dana bozes diziendo, llegado a nuestro señor: luego comenzauan los mjnjstros del cu, a tañer cornetas, y caracoles, y trompetas y otros instrumentos de los

[534]

1. Mengind corrigo: Bellinda anud Michael.

which they then used.

3: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1951 NU7 Aztec NU7

The thirteenth month they named Tepeilhuitl. In this month they celebrated a feast in honor of the high mountains, which are in all these lands of this New Spain, where large clouds pile up. They made the images of each one of them in human form, from the dough which is called *tzoalli*, and they laid offerings before these images in veneration of these same mountains.

Al tercio decimo mes llamauan Tepeilhujtl: En este mes hazian fiesta a honrra de lo montes eminẽtes, que estan por todas estas comarcas desta nueua españa: donde se armã ſiublados: hazian las ymagenes en figura humana a cada vno dellos de la masa que se llama tzoal, y ofrecian delante destas ymagenes, en respecto destos mismos montes.

796 X
[805]
778]

### Chapter 13
### Tepeilhuitl

In honor of the mountains they made a number of serpents, of wood or of the roots of trees, and they fashioned them heads like [those of] serpents. They made also some lengths of wood, as thick as the wrist, and long. They called them *ecatotonti*. These, as well as the serpents, they overlaid with that dough which they call *tzoalli*. These pieces they provided a covering in the manner of mountains. Above, they placed the head, like the head of a person. Likewise they made these images in memory of those who had drowned in the water, or had died such a death that they did not burn them, but rather buried them.

After, with many ceremonies, they had placed upon their altars the aforementioned images, they also offered them *tamales* and other food; and also they uttered canticles of their praises, and they drank wine in their honor.

Upon arrival of the feast in honor of the mountains, they slew four women and one man. The first of these [women] they called Tepexoch. The second they called Matlalcueie. The third they named Xochtecatl. The fourth they called Mayauel. And the man they named Milnauatl. They decked these women and the man in many papers covered with rubber. And they carried them in some litters upon the shoulders of women highly adorned, to the place where they were to slay them.

1. Misplaced variations. Consider for their own.

### Cap. 13.
### Tepeilhujtl.

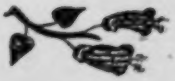
Hazian a honrra de los montes: vnas culebras de palo ọ de rayzes de arboles, y labrauanles la cabeça como culebra: y hazia tãbien vnos troços de palo grueſos como la muñeca largos llamauan los Ecatotonti: assi a estos como a las culebras los investian cõ aquella masa que llamã tzoal: a estos troços los investian a manera de montes, arriba les ponjan su cabeça como cabeça de persona: hazian tambien estas ymagenes, en memoria de aquellos que se aujan ahogado en el agua o avian muerto de tal muerte que no los quemauan, sino que los enterrauan.

Despues que cõ muchas cerimonjas, aujan puesto en sus altares a las ymagenes dichas: ofrecianles tambien tamales y otras comjdas: y tambien los dezian cantares de sus loores, y beujan vino por su honrra.

796 X
[273]

Llegada la fiesta a honrra de los montes, matauan quatro mugeres y vn hombre: la vna dellas llamauã tepexoch: la segũda llamauã Matlalcueie: la tercera llamauan Sochtecatl: la quarta llamauã Mayauel, y al hombre llamauã Milnaoatl: adereçauan a estas mugeres y al hombre cõ muchos papeles llenos de vlli: y lleuauanlas en vnas literas en hombros de mugeres muy atauiadas, hasta donde las aujã de matar.

796 X
[289]
[314]
[293]
[493]
482]



The fourteenth month they named Quecholli. They observed a feast to the god name Mixcoatl. And in this month they made arrows and darts for war. They slew many slaves in honor of this god.

## Chapter 14
## Quecholli

When they made the arrows, for a space of five days all took blood from the ears, and [with] the blood which they pressed out of them they anointed their own temples. They said that they did penances in order to go to hunt deer. From those who did not bleed themselves, they took their capes as punishment. No man lay with his wife on those days; neither did the old men nor the old women drink wine; because they did penance.

At the end of the four days during which they made the arrows and darts, they made a number of very small arrows, and bound them in four's with each [bundle of] four torches. And, a small bundle of the four torches and the four arrows being made, they offered them upon the graves of the dead. They placed also, along with the arrows and torches, two *tamales*. All this remained for a whole day upon the grave, and at night they burned it and performed many other ceremonies for the dead on this same feast.

On the tenth day of this month, all the Mexicans and Tlatelulcans went to those mountains which they call Çacatepec. And they say that this mountain is their mother. On the day that they arrived, they made huts or cabins of grass, and they lit fires, and nothing else did they do that day.

Next day, at dawn, all forthwith broke fast and set out for the country and formed a great wing, wherewith they surrounded many animals—deer, rabbit, and other animals—and little by little they kept coming together until they rounded up all of them. Then they attacked and hunted, each one what he could.

1. Marginal notation: November the first one.

**Al quarto decimo mes** llamauan Quecholli: hazian fiesta al dios llamado Mixcoatl: y en este mes hazian saetas y dardos para la guerra: matauã a honrra deste dios muchos esclauos.

## Cap. 14
## Quecholli.

KL. Quando hazian las saetas por espacio de cinco dias: todos se sangrauan de las orejas y la sangre que esprimjan dellas: vntauanla por sus mesmas sienes. Dezian que hazian penjtencias para yr a caçar venados: los que no se sangrauan, tomauanles las mantas en pena: njngun hombre se echaua con su muger en estos dias, nj los viejos ni virjas beujan pulcre: porque hazian penjtencia.

Acabados los quatro dias en que hazian las saetas y dardos: haziã vnas saetas chiqujtas y atauanlas de quatro en quatro con cada quatro teas: y assi hecho vn manogico de las quatro teas, y de las quatro saetas, ofrecianlas sobre los sepulchros de los muertos: ponjan tambien juntamente con las saetas y teas dos tamales: estaua todo esto vn dia entero sobre la sepultura, y a la noche lo quemauan: y hazian otras muchas cerimonjas por los defũtos en esta mesma fiesta.

A los diez dias deste mes yvan todos los Mexicanos y Tlatelulcaños a aquellos montes que llaman Çacatepec: y dizen que es su madre aquel monte, el dia que llegauan hazian zacales o cabañas de heno, y hazian fuegos y njnguna otra cosa hazian aquel dia.

Otro dia en amaneciendo luego almorçauan todos, y salian al campo y hazian vna ala grande: donde cercauan muchos anjmales, ciervos, conejos, y otros anjmales y poco a poco se yvan juntando hasta acerrarlos todos: entonce arremetian y caçauan cada a qual lo que podia.

The fifteenth month they named Panquetzaliztli. In this month they celebrated a feast to the god of war, Uitzilopochtli. Before this feast, the priests of the idols fasted for forty days and performed other severe penances, like going naked at midnight to carry branches to the mountains. Etc.

## Chapter 15
## Panquetzaliztli

On the second day of this month all began to perform a dance and to sing the canticles of Uitzilopochtli in the the courtyard of his pyramid. Men and women danced, all together. They began these canticles in the afternoon, and they ended at nearly ten o'clock. These dances and songs lasted twenty days.

On the ninth day of this month, they adorned, with great ceremonies, those whom they were to slay. They painted them in various colors; they decked them in many papers. Finally they performed a dance with them, in which went a woman paired with a man, singing and dancing.

On the sixteenth day of this month, the owners of the slaves began a fast; and on the nineteenth day, they began to perform a number of dances in which all, men and women, went grasping hands, and they danced winding back and forth in the courtyard of the aforementioned pyramid. A number of old men sang, and played [instruments] while the others danced.

After those who were to die had performed many ceremonies, there came down from the pyramid of Uitzilopochtli one attired in the ornaments of the god Paynal, and he slew four of those slaves in the ball court which was found in the courtyard which they called Teotlachtli. From there he departed and circled all the city, running; and in certain places he slew, in each one, a slave. And from that point [onward], two factions began a mock battle. Some died in the skirmishing.

1. Marginal notation: *Duplicado. Basilio. sobre.*

"Al quinzeno mes llamauan Panquetzaliztli: En este mes hazia fiesta al dios de la guerra Vitzilobuchtli: antes desta fiesta los satrapas de los ydolos ayunauan quarenta dias y hazian otras penitencias asperas como era yr a la media noche desnudos a lleuar ramos a los montes. Etc.

## Cap. 15.
## Panquetzaliztli.

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | e | XL. | | e | 9¹ |
| 2 | f | | El segundo dia deste mes començaũ | f | 10 |
| 3 | g | | todos a hazer areyto, y a cantar los can- | g | 11 |
| 4 | A | | tares de Vitzilobuchtli, en el patio de | A | 12 |
| 5 | b | | su cu, baylauan hombres y mugeres to- | b | 13 |
| 6 | c | | dos juntos: comẽçauan estos cantares | c | 14 |
| 7 | d | | a la tarde, y acabauan cerca de las diez: | d | 15 |
| 8 | e | | durauan estos bayles y cantos veinte | e | 16 |
| 9 | f | | dias. | f | 17 |
| 10 | g | | A los nueue dias deste mes: apare- | g | 18 |
| 11 | A | | jauã cõ grandes cerimonjas a los que | A | 19 |
| 12 | b | | aujan de matar pintauanlos de diuersas | b | 20 |
| 13 | c | | colores, componjãlos con muchos pa- | c | 21 |
| 14 | d | | peles: al fin hazian vn areyte con ellos, | d | 22 |
| 15 | e | | en el qual vyan vna muger y vn hom- | e | 23 |
| 16 | f | | bre parejados cantando y bayllãdo. | f | 24 |
| 17 | g | | A los dezisey dias deste mes: co- | g | 25 |
| 18 | A | | mençauã a ayunar los dueños de los | A | 26 |
| 19 | b | | esclauos y a los dezinueue dias, comen- | b | 27 |
| 20 | c | | çauan a hazer vnas dançes en que yvan | c | 28 |

todos asidos de las manos hombres y mugeres, y dançauan culebreãdo en el patio del dicho cu, cantauã y tañjan vnos viejos entre tanto que los otros dancauan.

Despues de auer hecho muchas cerimonjas los que auian de morir decendian del cu de Vitzilobuchtli, vno vestido con los ornamẽtos del dios Paynal, y mataua quatro de aquellos esclauos en el juego de pelota que estaua en el patio que llamauã teuchtli: de alli yva y cercaua toda la ciudad corriendo, y en ciertas partes matauan en cada vno vn esclauo: y de alli començauan a escaramuçar dos partialidades, murian algunos en la escaramuça.

**The sixteenth month** they named Atemoztli. In this month they celebrated a feast to the rain gods, because for the most part in this month it began to thunder and to threaten rain; and the priests of the Tlalocs began to do penances and to offer sacrifices, so that the rains would come.

**Al mes decimo sesto** llamauan Atemuztli: En este mes hazian fiesta a los Dioses de la pluuja: porque por la mayor parte en este mes, començaua a tronar y hazer demuestras de agua: y los satrapas de los Tlaloques començauan a hazer penjtencias y sacrificios porque venjesse el agua.

## Chapter 16
## Atemoztli

When it began to thunder, the priests of the Tlalocs, with great industriousness, offered *copal* and other fragrances to their gods and to all the statues of these. They said that then they came to give rain. And the common folk made vows to fashion the images of the mountains, which are called *tepictli*, because they are dedicated [to] those gods of the rain. And on the sixteenth day of this month, all the common folk prepared offerings to offer before Tlaloc. And [during] these four days they performed penances, and the men abstained from women, and the women from men.

Having come to [the time of] the feast, which they celebrated on the last day of this month, they cut lengths of paper, and they bound them to a number of poles, from bottom to top. And they set them up in the courtyards of their houses and made the images of the mountains of *tzoalli*. They fashioned for them their teeth of squash seeds, and their eyes of some beans which are named *aiecotli*. And then they offered them their offerings of food, and they worshipped them.

After having kept a vigil for them, and beaten drums and sung for them, they opened their breasts with a *tzotzopaztli*, which is an instrument with which the women weave, almost like a *machete;* and they took out their hearts and struck off their heads. And later they divided up all the body among themselves and ate it; and the ornaments with which

Cap. 16.
Atemuztli.

Quando començaua a tronar los satrapas de los Tlaloques con gran diligencia offrecian copal y otros perfumes a sus dioses, y a todas las estatuas dellos: dezian que entonce venjan para dar agua: y los populares hazian votos de hazer las ymagines de los montes que se llaman Tepictli: porq̃ son dodicadas aquellos dioses del agua. Y a los dezisеis dias deste mes, todos los populares aparejauan offrendas para offrecer a Tlaloc: y estos quatro dias hazian penjtẽcia, y abstenjanse los hombres de las mugeres, y las mugeres de los hombres.

Llegados a la fiesta que la celebrauan el vltimo dia deste mes: cortauan tiras de papel, y atauanlas a vnos barales desde abaxo hasta arriba: y hincauanlos en los patios de sus casas y hazian las ymagines de los montes de tzoal: hazianles los diẽtes de pepitas de calabaça, y los ojos de vnos frisoles que se llaman aiecotli: y luego los ofrecian sus offrendas de comjda y los adorauan.

Despues de auerlos velado y tañido y cãtado: abrianlos por los pechos, con vn tzotzopaztli: que es instrumento con que texen las mugeres, casi a manera de machete: y sacauanles el coraçon, y cortauãles las cabeças: y despues repartian todo el cuerpo entre si,

1. Marginal notation: [illegible] cuenta.
2. Marginal notation: Diez[illegible] de Santa Maria V.

2. Marginal notation: Diez[illegible] de diez cuen[illegible].

3: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1951 NU7 Aztec NU7

The seventeenth month they called Tititl. In this month they celebrated a feast to a goddess whom they named Ilamatecutli, and by another name, Tonan, and by [still] another name, Cocamiauh. In honor of this goddess they slew a woman, and as soon as they had torn out her heart they struck off her head and performed a dance with it. He who went before carried the head by the hair, in his right hand, making [with it] the gestures of the dance.

Chapter 17
Tititl

This woman whom they slew in this feast they arrayed in the adornments of that goddess whose likeness [she was], called Ilamatecutli, and by another name, Tonan, which meaneth "Our Mother." This woman, thus bedight with the adornments [which are] set forth in the description, danced alone. A number of old men made music for her; and, dancing, she sighed and wept, mindful that soon she was to die. After midday, the priests arrayed themselves in the ornaments of all the gods, and went before her, and took her up to the pyramid where she was to die. Having stretched her out upon the sacrificial stone, they tore out her heart, and they struck off her head. Then one of those who went adorned as a god took [it], and, [with him] foremost, carrying it by the hair, they performed a dance with it. He who bore it in his right hand guided [them], and he made the dance gestures with it.

On the same day that the servants of the idols slew this woman, they performed certain mock-battles, and made merry, running—some behind the others—up and down the pyramid, enacting certain ceremonies.

On the next day, all the common folk made a number of sacks, like pockets, with some cords attached, as much as a fathom long. They filled these

1. Mexicanā omittunt hanc vocem de illo anno.

Al mes decimo septimo llamauan Tititl. En este mes hazíã fiesta a vna diosa que llamauã Jlamatecutli, y por otro nombre Tona, y por otro nombre concamjauh, a honrra desta diosa: matauan vna muger, y desque le aviã sacado el coraçon cortauanle la cabeça y hazian areyto con ella, el que yva adelante lleuaua la cabeça por los cabellos en la mano derecha, haziendo sus ademanes de bayle.

Cap. 17.
Tititl.

A esta muger que matauan en esta fiesta: componjanla con los ataujos de aquella diosa cuya ymagen tenja que se llama Jlamatecutli y por otro nombre Tona qujere dezir nuestra madre esta muger assi compuesta con los ataujos estan puestos en la historia, baylaua sola: hazianla el son vnos viejos, y baylando suspiraua y lloraua, acordandose que luego auja de morir: pasando el medio dia, componjanse los satrapas con los ornamentos de todos los dioses, y yvan delante della, y auja de morir: echada sobre el tazon de piedra, sacauanla el coraçon, y cortauanla la cabeça, tomaua luego vno de aquellos que yva adornado como dios, y delantero de todos y lleuandola por los cabellos: hazian areyto cõ ella gujaua el que la lleuaua en la mano derecha y hazia sus ademanes de bayle con ella.

El mesmo dia que matauã esta muger los mjnjstros de los ydolos, hazíã ciertas escaramuças y regozijos: corriendo vnos tras otros el cu, arriba y el cu abaxo haziendo ciertas cerimonjas.

El dia siguiente todos los populares hazian vnas talegas como bolsas, con vnos cordeles atadas tan largos como va braço: hinchian aquellas talegas de

2. Mexicani omittunt Ajquinoqui denuo.

**The eighteenth month** they named Izcalli. In this month they celebrated a feast to the god of fire, whom they called Xiuhtecutli, or Ixcoçauhqui. They made an image in his honor, with great artifice, which appeared to throw off flames of its own accord. And every four years, in this same feast, they slew slaves and captives in honor of this god. And they pierced the ears of all the children who had been born in those years, and they gave them godfathers and godmothers.

**Al mes decimo octauo** llamauan Izcalli: en este mes hazian fiesta al dios del fuego que llamauan Xiuhtecutli, o Jxcoçauhquj: hazian vna ymagen a su hõrra de grã artificio que parecia que echaua llamas de fuego de ſi: y de quatro en quatro años en esta mesma fiesta esclauos y captiuos matauan a honrra deste dios: y agujerauan las orejas a todos los niños que aujan nacido en aquellos años y dauanlos padrinos, y madrinas.

796 X
805 778 776
852 304 608

## Chapter 18
### Izcalli

On the tenth day of this month they made a new fire at midnight, before the image of Xiuhtecutli, [which was] very curiously adorned. And, the fire having been lit, then, in the morning, the young men and boys came, and they brought various animals which they had hunted in the ten preceding days—some water [animals] and some land [animals]. And they offered them to the old men who were charged with safeguarding this god. And these cast into the fire all of those animals, so that they would cook. And they gave each one of these young men and boys a *tamal* made with amaranth, which they called *xauhquiltamalli*, which everyone in the city offered upon that day. All ate of these in honor of the feast day. They ate them very hot, and they drank and made merry.

On this feast, in ordinary years, they slew no one. But in the bissextile year, which was every four years, they slew, during this feast, captives and slaves and the impersonator of Xiuhtecutli, decorated in the manner which hath been told above, with many precious and curious adornments; they performed many great ceremonies upon the death of these [victims]—many more than on the other feasts already described. This is set forth at length in the account of this feast.

After they had slain these slaves and captives and the impersonator of Ixcoçauhqui, who is the god of fire, all the leading men and lords, the illustrious, and

## Cap. 18.
### Izcalli

1 *b* KL
2 *c* A los diez dias deste mes: sacauã
3 *d* fuego nueuo a la media noche delante
4 *e* la ymagẽ de Xiuhtecutli muy curiosa-
5 *f* mente ataujada: y encendidos fuegos,
6 *g* luego en amaneciendo venjan los man-
7 *A* cebos y muchachos, y trayã diuersos
8 *b* anjmales que aujan caçado en los diez
9 *c* dias pasados vnos de agua, y otros de
10 *d* tierra: y offrecianlos a los viejos que
11 *e* tenjan cargo de guardar a este dios: y
12 *f* ellos echauã en el fuego a todos aque-
13 *g* llos anjmales para que se asassen: y
14 *A* dauan a cada vno destos moços y mu-
15 *b* chachos vn tamal hecho de bledos que
16 *c* ellos llamauã Vauhquiltamalli: los
17 *d* quales todo el pueblo ofrecia aquel dia,
18 *e* y todos comjan dellos por honrra de
19 *f* la fiesta, comjanlos muy calientes y
20 *g* beujan y regozijauanse.

*b* 9
*c* 9
*d* 16
*e* 11
*f* 12
*g* 13
*A* 14
*b* 15
*c* 16
*d* 17
*e* 18
*f* 19
*g* 20
*A* 21
*b* 22
*c* 23
*d* 24
*e* 25
*f* 26
*g* 27

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En esta fiesta los años comunes no matauã a nadie: pero el año del biexto que era de quatro en quatro años: matauan en esta fiesta captiuos y esclauos, y la ymagen de Xiuhtecutli, compuesta de la manera que arriba se dixo cõ muchos y preciosos y curiosos ataujos: hazian grandes y muchas cerimonjas en la muerte destos, muchas mas que en las otras fiestas ya dichas. Esto esta puesto a la larga en la historia desta fiesta.

Despues que aujan muerto a estos esclauos y captiuos, y a la ymagen de Jxcoçauhquj que es el dios del fuego: estauan aparejados y adereçados muy rica-

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The five remaining days of the year, which are the four last of January and the first of February, they named Nemontemi, which meaneth barren days. And they regarded them as unlucky and of evil fortune. There is conjecture that when they pierced the boys' and girls' ears, which was every four years, they set aside six days of Nemontemi, and it is the same as the bissextile which we observe every four years.

A los cinco dias restantes del año que son los quatro vltimos de Enero y el primero de hebrero llamauan Nemontemi, que quiere dezir dias valdios: y tenjanlos por aziagos y de mala fortuna: ay conjectura que quando agujerauan las orejas a los njños y njñas que era de quatro en quatro años, echauan seys dias de Nenontemj y es lo mjsmo del bisexto que nosotros hazemos de quatro en quatro años.

## Chapter 19

These five days they held as of evil fortune and unlucky. They said that those who were born in them had evil outcomes in all their affairs, and were poor and wretched. They named them Nemo. If they were men, they named them Nemoquich; if it was a woman, they named her Nenciuatl. They dared do nothing in these days, because they were unlucky. Especially did they abstain from quarreling, because they said that those who quarreled in these days always remained with that custom. They held as a bad omen stumbling in these days.

These aforementioned feasts were fixed, and were always observed within the month, or a day or two ahead. Other feasts they had [which were] movable, which were celebrated during the course of the twenty signs, which made a round in two hundred and sixty days. And hence these movable feasts, in a year, fell one in one month, and another in another, and always varied.

## Of the Movable Feasts

The first movable feast was celebrated in honor of the sun, in the sign which is named ce ocelotl, in the fourth house, which is named naui ollin. On this feast they offered, to the image of the sun, quail, and they offered incense. And at noon they slew captives before it in honor of the sun. On this same day, all drew blood from their ears—children and those who were grown—in honor of the sun, and they offered it that blood.

## The Second Movable Feast

In this same sign, in the seventh house, all the painters and the seamstresses celebrated a feast. They

## ◦Capi. 19.

*1 A* Estos cinco dias tenjan por malafor- *A 28*
*2 b* tunados y aziagos: dezian que los que *b 29*
*3 c* en ellos nacian tenjan malos successos *c 30*
*4 d* en todas sus cosas, y eran pobres y mj- *d 31*
seros llamauanlos Nemo, si eran hombres llamauanlos Nenoquich, y si era muger llamauala Nencioatl, no otauan hazer nada en estos dias por ser malafortunados: especialmente se abstenjan de reñjr: porque dezian que los que reñjan en estos dias se quedauã siempre con aquella costumbre tenjan por mal aguero tropeçar en estos dias.

Estas fiestas dichas eran fixas que siempre se haziã dentro del mes o vn dia o dos adelante: Otras fiestas tenjan moujbles que se hazian por el curso de los veinte signos: los quales hazian vn circulo en doziẽtos y sesenta dias: y por tanto estas fiestas moujbles vn año cayan en vn mes y otro en otro y siempre variauan.

## De las fiestas moujbles.

La primera fiesta moujble se celebraua a honrra del sol en el signo que se llama ce ocelutl, en la quarta casa que se llama naolin: en esta fiesta ofrecian a la ymagen del sol codornjzes y incensauan: y en el medio matauã capitvos delante della a honrra del sol. En este mesmo dia se sangrauan todos de las orejas chicos y grãdes a hõrra del sol y le ofrecian aquella sangre.

## La segunda fiesta moujble.

En este mjsmo signo en la septima casa haziã fiesta todos los pintores, y las labrãderas ayunsuã quarẽta

X 796

**Twentieth Chapter**, which telleth of the feast and blood sacrifices which they made on the first day [and] month, which was named, and which they called, Atl caualo or Quauitl eua.[1]

[805]

Quauitl eua: This day came, and when it was this [month], a feast was then celebrated for the Tlaloca.

[202]

Everywhere on mountain tops, blood sacrifices[2] were made and sacrificial banners were hung. Blood sacrifices were made at Tepetzinco, or there in the very gulf of the lake at a place called Pantitlan.

[799]

At this place they left consecrated papers[3] and set up long poles called *cuenmantli*, by means of which would come to pass greenness, sprouting, and growth.

[777 827]

And there they took children, known as "human banners"[4]—those who had two cowlicks of hair and whose day signs were favorable. They were sought everywhere, and bought. It was said: "These are precious blood-offerings. [The rain gods] receive them with rejoicing; they wish for them; they are thus satisfied and given contentment." With them, the rains were sought; rain was asked.

[202 314 299]

And everywhere, in the houses, in each home, in each of the quarters where the young warriors were trained, and in each tribal temple, everywhere they erected the slender green poles; on them, they placed white paper flags dotted with large and small drops of liquid rubber.[5]

**Jnic 20. capitulo**, ytechpa tlatoa yn ilhuitl, yoan in nextlaoaliztli: in quichioaia, yn ipan vel ic cemilhuitl metztli; in quitocaiotiaia, in quitoaia atl caoalo anoço quauitl eoa.

Quauitl eoa, ynin ilhuitl quiçaia: auh yn iquac y, vncan ilhujquixtililoia in tlaloque:

nextlaoaloia, in noujan tepeticpac, yoã netetzauhtiloia, onnextlaoaloia, in tepetzinco, anoço vmpa in vel aytic, ytocaiocan pantitla:

vmpa concaoaia in teteujtl, yoan vmpa conquetzaia quaujtl, moteneoa cuenmantli, viujtlatztic, çan itech ieetiuh yn icelica, yn itzmolinca, yzcallo.

Yoan vmpa quimoncaoaia pipiltzitzinti, in moteneoaia tlacateteuhti: ichoãtin in vntecuezcomeque, in qualli intonal: noujan temoloia, patiiotiloia: mitoaia, ca ichoantin vellaçonextlaoalti, vel quinpaccacelia quinnequj, ic vellamati, ic vellamachtilo, ynjc in ca qujiauhtlatlanjoa, quiiauhtlatlano.

Auh yn novian calpan, in techachan: yoan in tetelpuchcalco, in cacalpulco, noujian qujquetzaia, matlaquauhpitzaoac, tzonioquaujtl, itech qujtlatlaliaia amateteujtl, vltica tlaulchipinilli, tlavlchachapatztli.

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1. Sahagún, in the corresponding Spanish text, observes that Quauitleua is the term used by the Mexicans. Cf. Manuel Orozco y Berra: *Historia antigua y de la conquista de México* (México: Tipografía de Gonzalo A. Esteva, 1880), Vol. II, p. 36: "*Xilomanaliztli*.—*Atlacahualco*.—*Cuahitehua*.—*Cihuatlhuia*. *Xilomanaliztli*, *ofrenda de ramas ó flores*: *nombre usado por los de Tlaxcalla*. *Cuahuitehua*, *querrauan de los árboles*: *nombre perteneciente á lugares fuera de México*. *Atlacahualco ó Atlacahualoya*, *nombre admitido por los mexicanos*: *origen el P. Leon*, *detencion de las aguas*, *y es la interpretacion de todas que mas nos satisface*. *Cihuatlhuitl*, *fiesta de la mujer*. *El simbolo religioso es la imágen de Tlaloc y un árbol revestido*, *con el agua entre las raices*." Cf. also Francisco J. Clavijero: *Historia antigua de México* (México: Editorial Porrua, S. A., 1945), Vol. II, pp. 401-2: ". . . *el primer mes*, *cuyo nombre Atzhualco ó Atlacahualco*, *significa la cesación del agua*, *pues en el mes de marzo cesan las lluvias del invierno en las países septentrionales*, *en donde nuevo origen al calendario mexicano o nahuatl*. *La llamaban también Quauhcalleoa*, *la que significa la regresión de los árboles*, *que se secaban en este tiempo en los países frios*. *Los tlaxcaltecas llamaban a este mes Xilomanaliztli*, *esto es*, *oblación de las mazorcas de maiz*, *porque en él ofrecian a sus dioses las del año corrido*, *para ayudar la sazones que por este tiempo comenzaban a hacer en los lugares altos*."

Angel María Garibay K. in "Relación breve de las fiestas de los dioses, Fray Bernardino de Sahagún" (Tlalocan, Vol. II), p. 291, translates *cuahuit ehua* as *palo se alza*. Eduard Seler, in *Einige Kapitel aus dem Geschichtswerk des Fray Bernardino de Sahagun aus dem Aztekischen uebersetzt uberarbeitet* (Castelle Seler-Sachs, Walter Lehmann, Walter Krickeberg, eds.; Stuttgart: Stecker und Schroeder, 1927), Vol. I, p. 93, translates the name as *ein Baume erheben sich* (*machen sich auf dem Weg*).

2. *Nextlaoaloia*. Seler rather consistently renders forms of this word in terms of payment of a debt rather than of a sacrifice. Cf. *ixtimea in Ahuizo de Motinz*: *Vocabulario de la lengua mexicana* (Jesús Pleitmann, ed.; Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1885), and in Rémi Siméon: *Dictionnaire de la langue nahuatl ou mexicaine* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1885). In *Collected Works* (Cambridge, Mass.: Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1939), Vol. II, Pt. 4 p. 13, Seler says: "The child sacrifices to the rain god were called *nextlaoalli* 'the debt paid.'"

3. Garibay (*op. cit.*, p. 292) translates *teteuitl* as *tiras sagradas*.

4. In *loc. cit.*, Garibay renders *tlacateteuhtin* as *tiras humanas* and makes it clear (Nahuatl sentence No. 4) that the term refers to the children who died. Seler (*Einige Kapitel*, p. 55) refers to them as *Menschen-Opferstreifen* (*Opferpapiere in Menschengestalt*). They may actually have been paper streamers surmounted by a representation of a human head, and have symbolized the children who died. See illustration (Seler: *op. cit.*, p. 66) from the Biblioteca del Palacio MS.

5. See Note 3. Sahagún, in the corresponding Spanish text, refers to "*unos papeles*, *tiras de ganso de ellí a los quales papeles llamauan amatetenil*." *Tlaulchichapatztli*: cf. *chachapaoac*, in Molina (*op. cit.*).

They said unto him:
"Go, my friend! Though thou art a brave man, a warrior, how may we care about thee? Wherever our foes come rising against us, may we die as brave men!"

And these were the words which they said unto him; and much else besides.

And thereafter, when they had cast him out, he slowly crept away, going backwards and on all fours, lamenting as he went. Thus he went off, nevermore to sing and dance with the others.

And the matrons cast out the woman. Nevermore would she take up the song and dance with the others. Nevermore would she clasp hands with the others [in dance]. Thus they dismissed her; the leaders of the maidens cast her out forever.

And the woman who had sinned evermore went alone. Never might she hope once again to sing and to dance with the others.

And the one whom they had punished because of the woman, then married her, and quieted the affair with her.

And before the real feast came which they called Uei tecuilhuitl, on the tenth day, when the woman [who was the likeness of] Xilonen died, her face was painted in two colors. Thus she was stained yellow about her lips, and her forehead *chili*-red. From her paper cap, which had four corners, hung quetzal feathers in the form of maize tassels; and [she wore] a wide neck band. Her neck piece consisted of many strings of turquoise. She wore a golden disc, as breast ornament. Her shirt and skirt had the water lily [flower and leaf design]. She wore princely sandals, carmine-colored sandals. Her shield and her rattle stick were *chili*-red. In the four directions she entered, or went down into, the sand.[7]

For this reason was it said, "She goeth into the sand": in this way she foretold her death—that on the morrow she would die.

She began the feast day when she entered Tetamaçolco. The second place where we went to arrive, we reached [to accomplish the ceremony], and it was a place named Necoquizcan. The third place in which she entered [the sand] was Atenchicalcan, and for this reason was it called Atenchicalcan—that here gushed forth the water, and also here faded away the

qujlhuja,
Xiuuh nocne aço toquichtli, aço titiiacauh, quen timitztocujtlauja: çaçocan techquetzaqujuh in toiauh, maça toquich miquicâ:

yoan in tlatolli qujlhujaia, vel oc mjec.

Auh yno ica oalmaiauhque, ça iaiatiuh, chichicoeoatiuh, ça zonauhtiuh, tẽtentiuh, ic centlatlalcauja, aoqujc teoan cujcoanoz.

Auh in cioatl çan qujtoroca, in cioutetiachcauh: aoqujc no teoâ cujcoianoz, aoqujc no tenaoaz, ic qujcenmaoatia, qujcenmacaoa, yn ichpuchtlaiacanquj.

Auh in cioatl yn otlatlaco, iccenmaian tlatlalcauja, aoq'c ceppa motemachiz, yn oc ceppa teoan cujcoanoz.

Auh in iehoatl yn otlatzacujltiloc, yn ipampa cioatl, njman ic qujmocioaoatia, qujiaucujlia.

Auh yn aiamo aci in iquac ie uel ilhujtl, yn moteneoa vei tecujlhujtl, yn iquac tlamatlacti, iquac miquja, in xilonen cioatl, michchictlapan, ynic michiuh yn itẽco cottic, auh yn ixquac chichiltic: yiamacal nauhcampa nacace, quetzalmjiaoaio, cozcapetlatl: yn icouquj chalchiujtl miecpantli, teucujtlacomalli yn ipan mantiuh, yiaxochiavipil yoan yaxochiacue yhitzcac, ynochpalcac: yn ichimal yoã yn ichicaoaz chichiltic, nauhcampa yn aquja anoço xalaquja:

ynic mjtoa xalaquj, ic qujmachiltia yn jmjquiz, in miquiz muztla:

in cemilhujtl conpeoaltia yn aquj, tetamaçolco, ynic vcan vncan in tociticatcan, tacito: yoan itocaiocan necoquizcan: ynjc encan vncan yn aquja, yn atenchicalcan, ynic moteneoa atenchicalcan, ca vncan, oalcholoaia yn atl, yoan no vncan oalpopoliujaia yn

796[x] 684 836

796[x] [302] 301

[292 293]

796[x]

796[x] 805

7. Entering the sand was evidently a ceremony literally executed, and logical in view of the attributes of the deities whose festivities were honored by it. The explanation in both Sahagún's Spanish text and the Aztec columns is not explicit. The four places in which Xilonen entered the sand may be identified in modern Mexico City and are associated with water and sand. *Aquja* is probably an assimilation of *oaquja*.—Angel María Garibay, personal communication.

wind. And the fourth place which she entered was over there at Xolloco. [And] there she stopped.

[For] these were a part of, and carried together, the four year-bearers—Reed, Flint, House, and Rabbit. Thus do the year-bearers go describing circles, whirling around [as a measure of time].

When, at early dawn, Xilonen was to die, all during the night songs were sung after the manner of the women. Vigil was kept. Everyone passed the night watching; they slept not; the women remained sleepless. They sang the songs [of Xilonen].

And when day broke, then began the dancing. Verily, everyone—the leaders of the youths, the leading warriors, and the valiant warriors bore maize stalks. These were named "bird banners."

Likewise the women danced—those who were with Xilonen. They were pasted with red feathers. And their faces were painted with yellow ochre. Also they colored their faces in two colors: about their lips they were yellow with ochre, and their foreheads were stained with the red of anatta seeds.[9] [They bore] their wreaths of flowers upon their heads, and the leaders had garlands of the yellow flowers of the *Cacaloxochitl mexicanus* [about their necks].[10]

These women were known as priestesses. They mingled not with the men, but remained at one side. They were describing circles, and enclosing Xilonen. They sang for her after the manner of women. These women were called "the hanging gourd."

And the warriors danced before [Xilonen], following a serpentine course.

And for this reason were [the women] known as "the hanging gourd": the two-toned wooden drum, which they beat as they went, had tied to it a gourd, which was under the drum, which looked as if it were hanging beneath. They who struck the two-toned drum went carrying a little drum under their arms, which they beat, as they went, with rubber-tipped drum sticks.[10]

And the priests, [who] attended them, went blowing horns; they blew shell trumpets as they went. And they went strewing, scattering, and casting incense as they went to meet Xilonen.

And the fire priest, who was to slay [Xilonen] as

ecatl: ynic nauhcan aquja, vmpa xolloco, vmpa ontzonquiçaia,

çā quitoctiaia, çan qujujcaltiaia, yn nauhtetl xiuhtonalli: yn acatl, in tecpatl, in calli, in tochtli, ynic tlaiaoalotiuh, ynic mòmalacachotiuh, in xiuhtonalli.

In ie iuh icentzinco miquiz in Xilonen: ceiocal in cioapan cujcoia, toçoonia, muchi tlacatl iztoçooaia, amo cochia, mocochiçoloaia in cioa, queoaia queviliaia yn icujc.

Auh yn ie oclatujc, njman ic peoa in netotil-o, vel izquich tlacatl in tiachcaoan, in telpopuchti, yn iiaque, yoan in tequjoaque, incicintopil: ynjn motocaiotia totopanjtl.

No mjtotia in cioa, yn itechpouja in xilonen, mopopotonjaia tlapaliujtica: yoan mozaoaia tecoçauhtica: no ic qujcotona, yn inzaiac, yn jntenco, tecoçauhtica: auh yn imixquac tlapalachiotica, ymjicpacxochiuh, inxonochicouqui compoalxuchitl yiacatiuh.

Yn iehoū yn, cioa, moteneoa cinatlamacazque, amo qujmonneloa yn oquichti, çan nonqua mantiuj, cololujtiuj, quitepeujtiuj in Xilonen: qujcioapācujcatitiuj: in iehoantin y, cioa moteneoa tecomapilooa.

Auh in tiachcaoan ixpan mjtotitiuj, mococnlotiuj:

auh ynic moteneoa tecomapilooa, ca in teponaztli in qujujtectiuj, itech çaliuhtiuh in atecomatl, yhicampa itepuzco ietiuh in teponaztli, iuhquin pilcatiuh ic neci: in teponaçoa çan qujciacaujtiuh in teponaztontli in qujujtectiuh olmatica.

Auh in tlamacazque, tenanamjquj tlapitztiuj, teciztli in qujpiztiuj: yoan yn iauhtezcatli in qujpipixotiuj, qujcecenmatiuj, qujtetepeuhtiuj, conjxnamjctiuj in Xilonen.

Auh in tlenamacac, in tiamjctix, vel mocencaoa,

1. *Rosa ovalifolia L.*, the state flower of Utah (Clark, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 6). Cf. also Seler, *op. cit.*, p. 151.

9. "*Rosa flower que se llamava xonpanhuhuitl, que comunmente y de hazer olor*" (Hernández ed., Vol. III, p. 273). Thevenot, in Seler, *loc. cit.* See also p. 99, n. 15.

10. Clark (*op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 99, n. 2), writing of the *tlamamaque mixcoatlaca* (shooting priests), says "The player is called the *tzompaque*, and the drum, *tzompanehuehuetl*, blade from the hollowed-out trunk of the *Lonicera involucrata* Banks. this drum has two tones; the rubber-headed drum-sticks are of elder." Cf. also Sahagún's description of the temple on the heroes (corresponding Spanish text).

Twenty-eighth Chapter, which telleth of the feast and the offerings which they made upon the feast days of the ninth month, which was named Tlaxochimaco.

The ninth month: it was known as "The Flowers Are Offered,"[1] and [like the others, it] also [consisted of] twenty days.

Two days [before the feast], when flowers were sought, all scattered over the mountains, that every flower might be found—various flowers, mountain flowers: species of dahlia, of *origanum*, a mountain variety of *tagetes*; the *nextamalxochitl*; another *origanum* species, a variety of *tigridia*, of *plumeria*; sweet-smelling mountain clover; *quauhelaxochitl*, [which is a sweet-smelling flower in the form of an ear of maize]; a species of *magnolia*, another of *tagetes*, one of *escobedia*; one of *nymphaea*, as well as a red variety; and the white water lily.[2]

And when [these] were gathered, when they had come to the flowers and arrived [where they were], at dawn they then were strung together; everyone strung them. And when the flowers had been threaded, then [these] were twisted and wound [in garlands]—long [ones], very long, and thick—very thick.

And when they had been arranged, then carefully were they set down; they were handled with esteem, and cared for with reverence.

And when this was done, all the peasants came in a body to make *tamales* for themselves. At sundown they plucked turkeys and dogs, and also at sundown they singed them. Those were singed which would be needed on the morrow.

All were occupied. All remained sleepless, wakeful. In festive mood, all were diligent and busy thus making preparations.

And when morning broke, the temple guardians then ministered unto Uitzilopochtli; they adorned him with garlands of flowers; they placed flowers upon his head. And before him they spread, strewed,

Jnic cēpoalli on chicuei capitulo, itechpa tlatoa in ilhuitl, yoan in tlamanalitztli: in quichioaia in ipan ic cemilhujtl, ic chicunauhtetl metztli, in motenteoaia Tlaxochimaco. 796^

Inic chicunauhtetl ilhujtl: motenteoa tlaxochimaco, no cempoalilhujtl: [805]

viptlatica in xuchitemoloa, necentmanalo in tepepan in tlatemolo in ixquich xuchitl, in nepapan xuchitl, in tepepan xuchitl, yn acocoxuchitl, vitzitzillacuxuchitl, tepecempoalxuchitl, nextamalxuchitl, tlacoxuchitl, ocelxuchitl, cacalosuchitl, ocuxuchitl, anoço xocuxuchitl, quavelosuchitl, iollosuchitl, tlalcacalosuchitl, cempoalxuchitl, acaxuchitl, atlacueçona, tlapalatlacueçona, atzatzamolxuchitl. 796^ 137

Auh yn omonechico yn ocaxitico xuchitl, yn oaxioco, yn otlatujc, ṁjmā ic moçoço, tlaçolo, tlaçoo: auh yn omoçoçoc, xuchitl, mec momamalina, mjlacatzoa, vel viujac viujtlatztic, totomaoac, vel tomactic. 796^

Auh yn otlacencaoaloc, mec tlamatzin motlatlalliā, vel momalhuja, momauizpia:

auh yn iquac xuchioaia yn, yn ixquich maceoalli cenuetzi in motamalhuja, itutlacpa in qujujujtla tototi, yoā in chichime, no itutlacpa in quinchichinoc, techichinolo, in monequizque ioatzico: [231 252]

neixpololo, acuchiztli nechioaltilo, necuchiçololo, yllhujocmoa, iuhquin tlatlaciuj, netetequipacholo, inic tlacencaoalo.

Auh yn otlatujc in iehoantin teupixque, njman ic ic qujtlamamaca in Vitzilopuchtli, qujnchicuaztia, conicpanuchitia: yoan ixpan qujtetequjlia, qujtetepanjlia, qujujujpana, qujtetecpiloa, in ixquich 796^ 778

1. Cf. Orozco y Berra (*op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 38): "Xilomilhuitzintli, Tlaxochimaco. El primero era nombre usado por los de Tlaxcalla. . . . El segundo [nombre] se Tlaxochimaco, palabra que Torquemada interpreta, creemos con razón y conocidos los frutos: ofrenda. Vegetia dice, ofrenda de flores. En la fiesta principal del mes, correspondía á Huitzilopochtli, la ofrenda de flor y los frutos: dicese estos adornados profusamente con flores. . . ." Clavigero (*op. cit.*, pp. 162-3) likewise writes: ". . . adornaban de flores y ramos los ídolos, así solamente a los que se consagraban en los templos, como también a los que morian por desgracia en sus casas; que por esta causa dedican el mes el nombre de Tlaxochimaco."

2. See Robredo ed., Vol. II, pp. 273-4; Cf. also Rémi Simeon, *op. cit.*, passim, and Sahagún, *Biwjo Español*, p. 156 (where a few German equivalents are given). Some are described also in Nicolás Antonio Bibliotheca Hispana Mediterranea Nunc Hispanice Tralatata (Matriti: Viuda Ibarrensis, 1871).

until the rosy dawn, when dawn would break and the morning would redden—when the swallow would sing.

And when dawn broke, thereupon all bestirred themselves, and ate and drank. Thereupon the old men of the tribal temple and the singers sat in the courtyard to sing for them. And they walked carrying the small children upon their backs. And [a child who was] a little larger his uncle and aunt came grasping by the hand. There they made him dance; they went through dance movements. And when the sun hung low, after noon, then all gathered at the Tzocuicoc. Here the dance and song proceeded—the songs, in all, spreading a sound as of the crashing of waves.

And then began the giving of wine. Everyone carried his wine, and brought it there. Among themselves, all took it and offered it, in earthen jars—all continually giving [it to others], giving and taking in return. Here they gave the wine to all the small children—those who were grown and those yet lying in the cradle, moistening food [in the wine] for them. Verily, everyone already mature was drunk; in truth, all showed that they had drunk wine.

Some showed sore [of the wine] as it foamed; some [thought it] precious as it gleamed. It fell to the ground; the wine ran like water.[3]

And they carried their drinking vessels, called *tzicuilcomitl*, [which had] three legs and, on four sides, had handles.

With ruddy faces, crying out, short of breath, with glazed eyes, all mingled with one another; there were disputes; all circled and milled about. Becoming more intense, all crowded and pressed together, elbowing each other. All took one another by the hands; they were bemused. Embracing one another fondly, [then] all entered their homes.

Then one said: "The wine feast hath verily been observed; for the children have drunk wine."

And then ended and concluded Izcalli. Then came to reign the Nemontemi—five days which had no day-names, which were no longer counted, which were not reckoned in the [day] count. Greatly were they feared and held in awe.

For they were ill-omened and of no use. Nothing was done [during these days]. They were ill-fated, of ill-fortune. For in them was no reward or merit—

quenman tlatziz, in quenman tlatzivilocuaz, in quenmã tlatoz cujcujzcatl.

Auh in otlatvic, njmã ie ic tlatlacivi, tlatlaqualo, astlioa: njmã ie ic motlalia in vevetquc calpoleque, cujcanjme, in jmalco in quincujcatiaia, vncã qujnmamacinemj in pipiltzontli: auh in ie achi qualton imatitech cantinemj in jtla, yoan iavi, vncan qujzotia, tlaiiauhtinemj: auh in ie achi tlaca in vmmopilo tonatiuh, vncan calcenquizoa in tzocuc: vncã mocenmana in netotiliztli, in cujqujztli, cepã cuantimomana, zaxamacatimanj in cujcatl:

Auh vncã peoa in nemaco, in temaco vctli, muchi tlacatl yioc vmpa quiqui, vmpa quivica, tetlan tlaano, apiloltica, vncan netech nemaco nepanoti nemamaco, necuecuepililo, necuecuepcaiotililo, vncan quintlaolitia in jzquichtin pipiltzontli in ie achi qualtzoca, yoan in oc coçolco onoque, çan quintlapaloltiaia, vel muchi tlacatl ivinti in ie veveitlaca, vel neixmanalo in tlaoano:

amo nenauhtilo, iuhquin tlapopeçoca, amo tlaçotli iuhquin tlapcpetlaca, tlalpã aci, iuhquin atl nemja vctli,

yoan intlacencaz quiqui, itoca tzicuiltecomitl: ci icxi, nauhcampa nacaz,

iuhquin tlaichichiliui, iuhquin tlaçomoca, iuhquin tlacica, iuhquin tlaixnextivi, tlaixnelivi, neixnanamjco, tlaixmalacachivi, tlaixmoiaoa, iuhquin nenamocolo, nepopotonalo nepopoçaio, nenopotonalo nematitech nenano, nenanala, nececenquetzalo, nececenmacho, nequechanenlocuh in cacalaoa techachan:

ic mjtoa ca nel iliuio in vctli, ca pillaoano.

Auh inic ontenquiça, inic ontlamj Izcalli: njmã calmotlalia, calmotena in Nemontemj: macujlilnajxl in xoctic itoca tonalli, in axcano vmpovi, in axcano vmpouhquj cenca ixnacanoia, cenca mauhcatimia:

ixhica ca çan nãquiquj, vncã nenequiquilo, ale vmpiano, nenenolo, nenenenolo: ixhica ca ale vncan ca illujlli, nahuatilli, can vncan ixtotinil, nene-

3. Cf. Anderson and Dibble, op. cit., p. 30.

only misery, poverty, vanity, misfortune, and a life of woe.'

And if one were born at that time he was looked upon with fear; he was shunned. And if he were a man, they named him Nemon, Nantlacatl, Nenquiquí. Nowhere was he counted; he was not a man. And if it were a woman, [they named her] Nenciuatl.

And when [these days came], nothing was done; the palaces and courts were empty; no suits were judged. All stayed at home. None swept with brooms; they only fanned [the dust] with a fan, or a turkey quill, or with the wing of a bird; or they beat and cleaned with a cloak.

And no one might then quarrel; [for] this was strongly forbidden to people; it was severely forbidden to them. They were charged that none might wrangle. Neither might one sleep during the day. [If so,] it was said: "[So] shalt thou always."

Nor should anyone fall, or trip, or stumble. All walked softly. And to one who stumbled, they said: "Thou hast the Nemootemi; so shalt thou be. Be thou careful."

And whosoever then took sick and was ill, [of him] everyone said: "He hath sickened. Never more will he rise; no more may he have hope. That he will recover there is no hope." No longer had they hope for him.

And if one yet escaped [death], neither would any pay heed to him nor speak to him. It was said: "For it is only that he by whose grace we live hath acted and determined of his own will."

None, therefore, were comforted nor moved. His kin forgot him and laid him on the ground. No more might he be able to leave, to some degree get up [again], and take nourishment. For the setting in of the Nemoutemi was terrifying.

For he had no day sign; he had no name; wherefore no one might, in truth, practice medicine and heal one, nor read the meaning of the days. For verily the days were not numbered; they had no count in all these four days.

linjlizt[illegible], nenquijcaiotl, nenquiçalizt[illegible], ſonecatinemjlizt[illegible].

Auh in aquin vncan tlacatia, cenca tlamauhcaitilitoia, tlatẽmachilitoia: auh intla oquichtli qujnecaiotiaia Nemõ, nentlacatl, nenquiquj, acan ompouhquj acã, ompovi nenequjch. Auh intla cioatl: Nenciouatl.

Auh in jquac y, atle aiouia, çan cactimãca in tecpan inteccali, amo tecutlatoloia, çan calooouia; aiac tlachpanaia, ochpaoaztica: çan tlaiecapevilóia, ecaceoaztica, anoço tzolmamaztica, totolaxvitztica, anoço tlavivitequja, tlapopovaia tilmatica:

yoan aiac vel vncan macaia, cenca tetlacaoaltiloia, cica tetlaquauhnaoatiloia, tetepitznaoatiloia, tecocoltiloia injc aiac maoaz: ano ac cenjlhujcochia: vncan teilhujloia. Centicuja:

ano ac vel motlavitequja, moicujnjaia, motepotlanjaia; nemaita, nenemoaia: auh in aquin motepotlanjaia: quilhujaia. Otimonemovi, ocenticõjc, ma ximjmati.

Auh in aquin ipan y, cocolizt[illegible] quicuja mococoaia: muchi tlacatl quitoaia, Cococolizcuj, aocmo quiçaz, aocmo motemachiz, in aço patiz, aocmo teumeiolloti, aocmo itech ca nemachilli:

auh intla aca oc maquiça, aoc ac itlamatian aoc ac itlatoaian: mjtoa. Ca ça oicnotlama, in jpalnemoanj, ça oquimonomavili, oquimoioculili:

aocmo iuh catca teiollo, ca oica netlapaloloc, neellaquacaloc, oquixcauhque injouiolque, ca oiquitecaque: aocmo iuhcan quixcoaiã inon oquẽtelt[illegible], mocuiquetz, inon oihiio quicujc, ca temauhti in jpan opeuh ilhujtl Nemõtemj:

ca atle itoual, ca atle itoca: ipampa aiac vel vncã ticiteca, tepatia, tetlapovia: ca nel amo vmpouhquj, atle ipoualle in jxquilhujtl navilhujtl.

4. The Tovar Calendar (Kubler and Gibson, op. cit., p. 30) adds that people did not gather at the temple, and that the priests performed no sacrifices nor other ceremony then.

793 them. None should fail. And here, over them presided [the one named] Patecatl, who was made, as it were, their leader.

793 [805] 273 Then they arranged the rabbit [wine] jars. These they filled with [ceremonial] five[-fold] wine, which they also called sacred wine. Then he brought forth the sucking-tubes, made of reeds, and laid them with the sacred wine—two hundred and three of them, but only one was bored through.

And when they had set them out, thereupon all danced and went in procession; the Centzontotochtin danced.

Thereupon they went up to the sacred wine. There was much jostling about until one should see the [sucking tube which was] bored through. And when he who saw it then took up the bored [tube], then they made room for him.

Only he alone drank the sacred wine. And when he had drunk the sacred wine, thereupon all dispersed.

vncan tepan icaca in patecatl, iuhquin tachcauh mochiuaa,

njman ie quiquetza in tochtecomatl vncā conteca in macujlvetli in qujlvjaia teuvctli, njman ie quivalquistia in piaztli acatl vncan cōmanaia in teuvctli ipan, çan matlacpoalli vmei, auh çan ce in coionquj,

auh in ocōma, njman ie ic netotilo, tlaiavalolo, mjtotia in centzontotochtin,

njman ie ic vi in jvicpa teuvctli, cenca moquequeça in ac iehoatl qujttaz coionquj, auh in aquin oquittac, in oquicujc coionquj, njman ic quitlalcavia,

ça icel quiticac in teuvctli: auh in onteutlacoanoc, njman ic viujloa.

### Epcoaquacuiltzin.

793 [805] The Epcoaquacuiltzin—behold what were his duties: when feasts should be celebrated, perchance when a new fifty-two-year cycle should start—verily, all feasts—all of them he announced; or when fire was laid. In truth, all that should be done, all things this man thus commanded and furthered.

### Epcoaquacujltzin.

In epcoaquacujltzin, izca yn jtequjuh catca: Yn iquac ilhujtl quiçaia, yn aço xiuhtzitzqujlo: in ie muchi ilhujtl, muchi ipā tlatoaia, injc tletemaloa in ie muchi muchivaz muchi iehoatl ic tlanavatiaia, ipan tlatoaia.

### The Keeper of the Gods of Moloncoa.

The Keeper of the Gods of Moloncoa also had this as his duty: In his charge were the paper, the incense, the [liquid] rubber, the black stain, and all which this one needed when [sacrificial victims] were to die. And he had in his charge the black stain with which was painted [the impersonator of the god] Chiconauecatl, and the incense ladle, the quail, and the black plumes with which [he who was arrayed in the likeness of] Chiconauecatl was feathered.

### Moloncoceuhoa.

In moloncoceuhoa, çan no iehatl itequjuh catca, ipan tlatoaia, in amatl in copalli, in vlli, in tlilli, in isquich itech monequja in iehoatl in iquac miquja, auh in tlili ic moçaia, in chicunauecatl yoan ipan tlatoaia in tlemaitl, in çolin yoan in ihujtl tliltic ic mopotonjaia in chicunauecatl.

### The [Priest of] Cinteotl.

The duties of the [Priest of] Cinteotl were that all things which were required be thus commanded, so that the paper, the incense, the [liquid] rubber,

### Cinteotia.

In itequjuh catca cinteutzin çan isquich in ipan tlatoaia, ic tlanavatiaia, injc monechicoaia in amatl in copalli, in vlli in jiauhtli in itech monequja xile-

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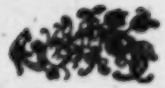

The Seventh Chapter telleth of the year counter and the year sign.

### One Rabbit

It is said [that this was] the year sign and year counter of the south. For thirteen years it carried, set on its path, took with it, and bore the burden [of the year]. Always, during each [of the thirteen] years, it was the first, the one which led, began, made the start, and introduced as many year signs as there were: Reed, Flint, and House. Of the one [known as] Reed, it was said [that it was] as it were the sign of the east; that is, the year sign of the sun. For from there issued the light which shone forth.

And the third year sign, the one [known as] Flint, was called the sign of the north. For [the north] was said to be toward the land of the dead. Thus have the old people spoken: it is said that when one died, to that place set out, went straightway, and proceeded the dead. Therefore, when someone died—when [the seamen] adorned him, when they wrapped him in his mantle and bound him [in wrappings]—they made him look toward and seated him looking to that place.

And the fourth year sign, the fourth in order, [was] the one known as House—the sign of the west. For this reason they named it Cioatlampa: it is said that there dwelt but women; none of us men were there.

These four year signs, year count[ers], as many times as they came to appear, [as many times] they came to be the beginning year signs.

When all the thirteen-year [periods]—all four of them—had concluded, ended, and finished, thus preceding around, to give and leave their works from year to year, this [last] one came to, stopped at, jogged, knocked against, and ended at Thirteen House, the sign of the west. That is, now it approached [the end of its] thirteen years of labor.

And then One Rabbit came to settle itself as the sign of the south. When this occurred and it established itself and began its work, thus to bear a year

Inic chicome capitvlo, itechpa tlatoa: in xiuhtlapoalli, in xiuhtonalli.

### Ce tochtli.

motenoa: uiztlampa xiuhtonalli, xiuhtlapoalli: matlactxiuitl omei tlalnica, tlaotlaneoia, tlatqui, tlamama. In nuchipa cecexiuhtica, vel tlaiacatia, tlaiacana, quipeoaltia, ipeuhca nuchioa, quitzintia in inquiteri xiuhtonalli in acatl, in tecpatl, in calli. In ichoatl acatl, mitoa: tlapcopa tonalli, iuhquinoma, q. n. tlauilcopa xiuhtonalli: ipāpa ca umpa oalneci in tlauilli, in tlanestia.

Auh inic ei xiuhtonalli, ichoatl in tecpatl: motenoa mictlampa tonalli, ipampa in mjtoa mictlampa: iuh quitoaia in veuetque, quilmach in icoac micoa: vmpa itatiui, vmpa tlamelaoa, vmpa tlatoteca in mimicque. Iehica, in icoac aquin miquia, in oconchichiuhque, in oconquiquimiloque, in oconiipique: vmpa quitlachialtiaia, vmpa quitzitlitimotlaliaia.

Auh inic nani, tlanauhcaiotia, xiuhtonalli: ichoatl in calli motenoa, cioatlampa tonalli. Ipāpan iuh quitoaia, cioatlampa: quilmach, çan muchi cioa umpa onoque, aocaque tequichtin.

Inin nauhteme xiuhtonaltin, xiuhtlapoaltin: inquiteme ceceppa moquetztini, tonalpeuhcaioome muchiuhtiuj.

Inic muchi matlatlacxiuitl omeci, quidamja, conexitia, quiznequixtia nauhcicitin: inic tlaiacalotini, quimomacatini, quimocuilitini, inoquiuh, cecexiuhtica: ichoatl itech onaci, itech ômocaoa, itech ontzupi, itech outlatemotzoua, outlatemoquixtia in matlactlomei calli, cioatlampa tonalli. q. n. ie ocuitti in matlactxiuitl omei inoquiuh.

Auh nimon ie calmoquetza in ce tochtli: uiztlampa tonalli. In icoac, y, moquetza, in quipeoaltia inoquiuh, inic ce xiuitl tlanicoa, tlaotlaneoia: ceoca

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and set it upon its way, all were much frightened and there was apprehension; all were filled with dread because in this [year] occurred the famine called Necetochuiliztli. All were exceedingly terrified and in awe when [the ye·r] One Rabbit came—when they reached and came to it; though not [when it was] Two or Three [Rabbit]. Etc.

nemauhtiloia, tlatĕmachoia, netĕmachoa: ipampa, in ipan muchioaia maianaliztli, motenecoa necetochuiliztli. Çaniio uellamauhtiaia, uel imacaxoia: in iconc on omoquetz ce tochtli, in onoitech axioac, onoitech onpachiooac: amono ie in ome, anoço ey. etc.

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**The Eighth Chapter** telleth how they held in dread hunger and famine when One Rabbit ruled the year count, and what they first did when the year count of One Rabbit had not yet begun.

**And [even] when [the year] One Rabbit had not yet set in, first provision was made;** our food was hidden away, stored, saved up, and placed in bins. Nothing was thrown away; all then was saved—wild seeds not commonly eaten; musty maize; corn silk; corn tassels; pulp scraped from maguey tappings, tuna cactus flowers; cooked maguey leaves; heated maguey sap.

Everything was taken into account: [with] amaranth, even the weeds[12] were threshed; [as for] the beans, likewise were stored and put away unripened ones and the dried, withered ends of the green beans. and when they had used all, they satisfied and quickened themselves [with] bird seed, bitter amaranth or bright red amaranth, and *yacacolli* maize.[13]

This was the time when they bought people;[14] they purchased men for themselves. The merchants were those who had plenty, who prospered; the greedy, the well-fed man, the covetous, the niggardly, the miser, who controlled wealth and family, guardians, the mean, the stingy, the selfish. In the homes of [such men] they crowded, going into bondage, entering house after house—the orphan, the poor, the indigent, the needy, the pauper, the beggar, who were starved and famished; who just as they went to sleep, just so awoke; who found nothing and got nowhere; who in no place found their rest, relief or remedy. At this time one sold oneself. One ate oneself; one swallowed oneself. Or else one sold and delivered into bondage his beloved son, his dear child.

Inic chicuey capitulo, itechpa tlatoa: inic quimacacia apiztli, in maianaliztli, in iccac tlauicaia, in xiuhtlapoalli in ce tochtli: yoan in tlein achtopa quichioaia, in aiamo vmpeoa xiuhtlapoalli, ce tochtli.

Auh in iccac, aiamo moquetza ce tochtli: achtopa nenemachtiloia, netlatlatililo, netetzontilo, netacatilo, mocuezcomatema in tonacaiotl: aoc tle motlaça, muchiccac netlatililo in polocatl, in popoiotl, in xilotzõtli, in miiaotl, in metzolli, in nochxochitl, in mescalli, in necutlatotonilli.

Auh inic muchi temachiloia, in oauhtli çan yoã mocconoa in ipolocaio: in etl çan yoan motlatiaia, mocalaquiaia in iaxaoacaio, yoan in jexococoloio in opatzaoac. Auh iccac, muchi tlaiecoa, tlaacotlaça tlaihiiocuitia in petzicatl, in chichic oauhtli, anoço teuoauhtli, iacacolli:

ie iccac tecoa, motlacacouia, in vnca quicoani, in mocuiltonoa, in motlacamati, in tlãtlametl, tlairxotiani, atle quiscaoa, tlaixtamachiuhqui, tlaçaloani, tlapachoani, tlamalhuiani, teuie, tzotzoca, motzol: ichan maaquia, mihitoa, mocacalaquia in icnotlacatl, in motolinja, in quiciaui, in quihiiouia: in aoneoxtinemi, in aonmacitinemi, in apizmicoqui, in teuciuhque: in iuhqui cochi, in iuhqui meoa, in aualnecini, in aoccan vitz, in aoccan quitta ihiiocuiia, iceuhca, ipatica: ie vncan in monamaca, in moqua, in motolia: anoço quinamaca, quimonamaquilia in ipiltzin, in iconetzin:

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12. *In cuecuili qua yuã in ipolocaio*: cf. Bernardino de Sahagún: *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* (Méjico: Editorial Pedro Robredo, 1938), T. 3, p. 288: "huauhtli yolcuaya, o la semilla de los anchos de hongos, que todos son comestibles." Jean, *op. cit.*, p. 69, has "*Aderse esos mismos dias de Buenaventura cue.*"

13. Some of these terms are identified in Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, p. 63. *Yacacolli* is described in Bernardino de Sahagún: *Histoire générale des choses de la Nouvelle-Espagne* (D. Jourdanet and Rémi Simeon, eds.; Paris: G. Masson, Éditeur, 1880), p. 118, n. 2, as "*espèce de maïs*," but also the Robredo edition, Vol. 1, p. 139.

14. The translation of this passage differs in some details from that of Jean (*op. cit.*, pp. 68-71), *q. v.*

[Illegible] appears in the Real Palacio MS as *quiquini*. The term could be translated, "those who are people." Cf. *ie tenque* (*see my remark*), toward the end of the paragraph.

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[For] they had incurred sins. They had taken unto themselves, and placed themselves in, great wrong, through which they went always being slaves, until at last they were to die.

And even if he died, once again some one of his kin stood surety for him. Or else his beloved son offered himself and finished for him. None were neglected. Their kin and their lineage went on continuing and extending [the obligation]; they went on paying the debt and concerning themselves [with it]. Always they fulfilled the pledge, continued taking the place of others, served for one another; they all entered the households of their lords.

If sons or grandsons were born to him, at once [their elders] assigned them their great faults. When they matured, when they gained prudence, when they looked about, already servitude would be upon them. Already they wielded the hoe, they used the tump line; already they were [as] someone else's dogs, someone else's turkeys. For in truth [slavery] had come upon them; they had come against that which they could not leave—of which they could not be rid. For their fathers, their grandfathers, their mothers, and their grandmothers had proceeded to merit for them, to acknowledge for them, to bequeath them, to load and place upon them, [their transgressions]. For difficult was that which they had left and bequeathed them in time of famine—those who hungered and starved, who no longer were proud, who no longer persevered, who indeed were sick; who had eaten themselves, had sold themselves.

[This was] because they had prepared nothing for themselves, had shown no forethought for themselves; had paid no heed, had lived in negligence, and were disposed to evil before the year sign One Rabbit had begun—[when] it had not yet set in.

Thus was it said, that their fathers and grandfathers had succumbed to One Rabbit; hence they took on great sins.

When [the year] One Rabbit had fulfilled its task, when the year had been completed, then it delivered its charge to the sign of the east: Two Reed was the one which [then] set in.

motlatlaculnamictia, ueuetlatlaculli quimotitia, quimotlalilia: inic muchipa centlacotli ietiuh, in iquich cauitl miquiz.

Auh in manel onmic, oc ceppa ipan oalmoquetza; aca ioaniolqui, anoço ipiltzin ōmisquetza, ipan tlaiecoa: aiac miscaoa, ma antiui, motilinitiui, cemololiuhtiui, mocemichictiui in incalloc, in incuitlaxcolloc: muchipa impan tlaiecoa, impan oonotiui, mocepanpaleuia, cencalaqui in ichan intecuiio:

intla tlacatizque ipilhoan, in imiuioan, çan niman ie quincauilitiui in inuenetlacol: in oalmoxcalizque, in oalistlamatizque, in oallachiazque, ie intech ca in intlacoio, ie uicti, ie mecapalti, ie teitzcuinhoan, ie tetotolhoan: ca nel oimpan ia, oquimonamictique, in auel tecauh, in auel poliui: ca intahoā, inculhoan, innanhoā, incihoā in quinmaceuitiui, quincuititiui, quincauilitiui, quinmamaltitiui, quintlalilitiui: ca ouicā in concauhque, in quimoncauilique, inic maianalco, in teuciuiian, im apizmiquia, aoc imatlamatia, aoc ontlaiecoa, uel icocoiaia: in moquaque, in monamacaque.

Ipampa, in atle cōnochioaltique, in atle ic onmotlamachique, in aquen onmomatque, in çan onmotlacomatque, onmauilmatque: in icoac xiamo peoa, xiamo moquetza xiuhtonalli ce tochtli.

Ic mitoa, ca mocetochuique in intahoan in inculhoan: inic quicuique ueuetlatlacolli.

In icoac, ie onquit ce tochtli, in otlatzonquixti ce xiuitl: niman ic ie itech concaoa, in tlapcopa tonalli: iehoatl oalmoquetza in vme acatl.

**Ninth Chapter, in which is described what was called "The Binding of Our Years," or "When the Years are Bound," [which occurred] when one by one the four year signs had each reigned thirteen years and when fifty-two years had passed; and what then was done.**

When [came] the time of the binding of our years, always they gradually neared and approached [the year] Two Reed. This is to say: they then reached and ended [a period of] fifty-two years. For at that time [these years] were piled up, added one to another, and brought together; wherefore the thirteen-year [cycles] had four times made a circle,[18] as hath been made known. Hence was it said that then were tied and bound our years, and that once again the years were newly laid hold of. When it was evident that the years lay ready to burst into life, everyone took hold of them, so that once more would start forth—once again—another [period of] fifty-two years. Then [the two cycles] might proceed to reach one hundred and four years. It was called "One Old Age" when twice they had made the round, when twice the times of binding the years had come together.

Behold what was done when the years were bound—when was reached the time when they were to draw the new fire, when now its count was accomplished. First they put out fires everywhere in the country round. And the statues, hewn in either wood or stone, kept in each man's home and regarded as gods, were all cast into the water. Also [were] these [cast away]—the pestles and the [three] hearth stones [upon which the cooking pots rested]; and everywhere there was much sweeping—there was sweeping very clean. Rubbish was thrown out; none lay in any of the houses.

And when they drew the new fire, they drew it there at Uitzachtlan, at midnight, when the night divided in half. They drew it upon the breast of a captive, and it was a well-born one on whose breast [the priest] bored the fire drill. And when a little

18. See Plate 28.

**Inic chiconnaui capitalo, vncan mitoa: in mitoa, toximmoipili, anoço inic molpilia xiuitl: yn icoac matlatlacpa omeexpa otlauicac, yn inauhteixti cecentetl xippoalli: inic onaci vmpoalxiuitl ipan matlacxiuitl omume, yoan in tlein icoac muchioaya.**

Ic vncan, ic ipan in toxiuhmolpilia: muchipa ic quimattiuh, quitztiuh in vme acatl. q. n. Ca vncan aci, uncan tlami ompoalxiuitl ōmatlactli, yoā onxiuitl. Ca vncan mocentlalia, monepanoa, monamiqui: inic otlaixoalo nauhcampa matlacxiuitl omeey, in iuh omoteneuh: ic mitoa, vncan molpia, molpilia in toxiuh, oc ceppa iancuican vncan xiuhtzitzquilo: inic monexcaiotiaia, in xiuitl ixoxoc, muchi tlacatl cōquitztquiaia, inic oc ceppa ie ōpeoa, oc no izqui xiuitl 52 años, inic acitiuh macuilpoalxiuitl ipan nauhxiuitl: mitoa cen ueuetiliztli, in oppa tlaixoaloa, in oppa monamiqui imolpilican xiuitl.

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Izcatqui in muchioaia, icoac molpilia xiuitl: in icoac oxxiooc, in vncā uetzia tlequauitl, in ie itlapoalpan: achto vel nouiian cēceuia in tlel in cematonaoac, yoan in isquich pīcloia techachā, in neteutiloia tequascuilti, in aço quauitl, anoço tetl tlaxintli, muchi atlan onmotepeoaia: No ichoatl in texolotl, in tenamaztli, yoan nouiian tlātlachpanoia, tlatetzcalolo, tlanaoac tlauico, aoctle uetztoia in techachan.

805 372

Auh in vetzia tlequauitl, vmpa in vitzachtlan: ioxalnepantla in vetzia, vel icoac in xeliui ioxalli: malli in ielpan vetzia, ichoatl in tlaçopilli ielpan in quimammalia tlequauitl. Auh in icoac quēhcēlcia ouetz, in omopiez: niman ic iciuhca, quehtectioctzi in malli, con-

805 372 782

5: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1953 NU7 Astec NU7

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[fire] fell, when it took flame, then speedily [the priest] slashed open the breast of the captive, seized his heart, and quickly cast it there into the fire. Thus he revived and fed the fire. And the body of [the captive] all came to an end in the flames. And those who drew fire were exclusively the priests, the fire priests, the devout. Of the fire priest of Copulco, who was experienced, it was his office to draw, to drill, the new fire.

anjlia in iiollo, tleco contlautiuetzi: inic quicualtia, quitlamaca tletl. Auh in inacaio, çan muchi tleco tlami. Auh in tlequauhtlaçaia, çan ichoã in tlamaceuaque, in tlenamacaque, in tlamaceuhque: copolco tlenamacac, in vel imatia, in itequiuh catca, in quitlaçaia, in quimamalia tlequauitl.

5: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1953 NU7 Aztec NU7

# The Calendar Wheel

● 805

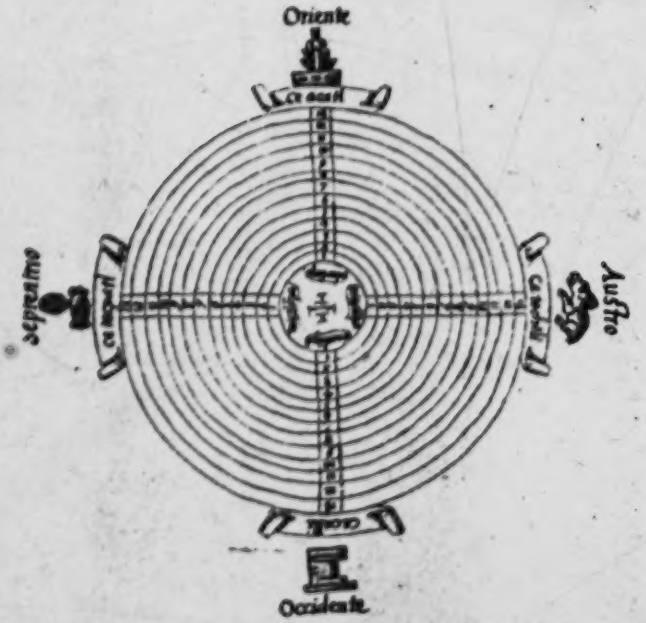
This table placed above [opposite] is the year count, and it is a most ancient thing. They say that its inventor was Quetzalcoatl. It proceedeth in this way: they begin with the east, which is where the reeds are (or, according to others, with the south, where the rabbit is) and say One Reed. And thence they go to the north, where the flint is, and they say Two Flint Knife. Then they go to the west, where the house is, and there they say Three House. And then they go to the north, which is where the rabbit is, and they say Four Rabbit. And then they turn to the east, and say Five Reed. And thus they go, making four revolutions, until they reach thirteen, so that they end where they began. And then they return to one, saying One Flint Knife. And in this way, making revolutions, they assign thirteen years to each of the characters, or to each of the four quarters of the world. And then fifty-two years are completed, which is a bundle of years, when the Jubilee is celebrated and new fire is made in the manner set forth above [Chapters 9-12]. Then they again count as at the beginning. It should be noted that they disagree a great deal, in various places, as to the beginning of the year. In some parts, they told me that it began at some day in January; in others, that [it was] at the beginning of February; in others, that [it was] some time in March. In Tlatilulco I gathered together many old men, the most able ones whom I could secure, and, along with the most able of the college students, this matter was discussed for many days. And they all concluded that the year began on the second day of February.

Esta table, arriba puesta: es la cuenta de los años, y es cosa antiquissima. Dizen, que el inuentor della, fue Quetzalcoatl: procede desta manera: que comiençan del Oriente, que es donde está las cañas: y segun otros, del medio dia, donde esta el conejo, y dizen ce acatl: y de alli van al Norte, donde esta el pedernal, y dizen vme tecpatl: luego van al occidente, donde esta la Casa, y alli dizen ey calli: y luego van al abrego, que es donde esta el conejo, y dizen naui tochtli: y luego tornan al oriente, y dizen macuilli acatl. Y assi van dando quatro bueltas, hasta que llegan a treze, que se acaban a donde començo: y luego bueluen a vno, diziendo ce tecpatl. I desta manera, dando bueltas: dan treze años, a cada vno de los caracteres, o a cada vna, de las quatro partes, del mundo. I entõce, se cumplen. 52. años, que es vna gauilla de años: donde se celebra, el Iubileo, y se saca lumbre nueua, en la forma arriba puesta: luego bueluen a contar como de principio. Es de notar, que discrepan mucho, en diuersos lugares del principio del año: en vnas partes me dixeron, que començaua a tantos de Enero: en otras, que a primero de hebrero: en otras, que a tantos de Março: En el tlatilulco, junte muchos viejos: los mas diestros, que yo pude auer, y juntamente, con los mas habiles de los colegiales, se alterco esta materia por muchos dias: y todos ellos concluyeron, que començaba el año, segũdo dia de Hebrero.

[p. 38 (F)]

5: Sahagún M-S (1529-1590) 1953 NU7 Astec NU7

libro 7° de la astrologia 805




—Alter Pero y Tezozom

38. The calendar wheel

The reader might assume four spirals instead of the concentric lines shown. Beginning at the center with One Rabbit, proceed to Two Reed, Three Flint Knife, Four House, Five Rabbit, etc., and end at the outside circumference with Thirteen Rabbit. Begin again at the center with One Reed and proceed as before to the outside circumference at Thirteen Reed; and so on until the fourth spiral, which begins with One House, ends with Thirteen House, thus completing the fifty-two-year series.

[p. 38(G)]

S: Sahagún M-S (1529-1590) 1953 NU7 Aztec NU7

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—After Paso y Troncoso

22. Natural Phenomena and year signs, from *Primeros Memoriales*, cap. 2

13. Wind
14. Lightning bolt
15. Rain
16. Rainbow
17. Frost
18. Cloud
19. Snow
20. Hail

*Year signs, beginning at top*
One Rabbit
Two Reed
Three Flint Knife
Four House

[p. 38(I)]

726 slept at this time. Here was the place to which [the Mexicans] went in order to return, when the Spaniards showed their heels to and turned their backs upon them.

766 727 Upon this, then were identified the chieftains who had died, who had been speared. There they burned all of them. And their charred [remains] they gathered up; they collected the bones of each of them. They heaped them all up and then buried them: they buried them in the earth.

● 805 And these are all the days since the Spaniards came to and entered Mexico, on One Wind of the day count and One Reed of the year count, on the eve of the tenth day of Quecholli. And when they had tarried one day, Two House, at that very time it was the tenth day of Quecholli. And when they came to the end of Quecholli, when it was the actual feast day, thereupon after it followed Panquetzaliztli, with twenty days.[4] Then after it came Tititl, also with twenty days. Then followed after it Izcalli tlamj,[5] also with twenty days. Then, at that time, set in the five days known as Nemontemi. And when the five days came to an end, then began Atl cauallo, or Quauitl eua, in which the year returned[6] —in which began the new year— also of twenty [days]. Then came after it Tlacaxipeualiztli, also of twenty [days]. Then followed after it Toçoztontli, also of twenty [days]. Then proceeded after it Uei toçoztli, also of twenty [days]. Then came after it Toxcatl, also of twenty days. This was when the chieftains perished; when they were cut to pieces, when the Mexicans were put to death. Then followed after it Etzalqualiztli, also of twenty days. Then came after it Tecuilhuitontli. This was when [the foe] set forth; upon an opportune day, the Spaniards set out, to disappear by night without the knowledge of [the Mexicans]; without its being their will, they set forth by night. And when the count of all the days is added, they are two hundred and thirty-five. And they had been our friends for one hundred and ninety-five days. And they were our foes for forty days.

000 And when the Spaniards had thus gone, it was therefore thought that in truth they had departed forever, that indeed once and for all they had left—

Auh in ie iuhquj: njmã ie ic teiiximacho in tiacaoan in omjcque, in onixiliosque, vncan quintlatique in jxqujchtin: auh in intecullo quipepena, in jmomjo quinenechicoaia, cololoaia, çatepã contocaia, contlaltocaia.

Auh in ixquilhujtico in Mexico inic calaqujco in Españoles: ipã ce hecatl in cemjlhujtlapoalli: auh in xiuhtonalli ce acatl, oc muztla tlamatlactiz Quecholli: auh in cemjlhujtique vme calli: vel iquac in tlamatlacti quecholli: auh in oacic, tlamj quecholli in vel ilhujtl: njman ie ic quioaltoquilia in Panquetzaliztli, cempoalilhujtl: njmã quivaltoquilia Tititl no cempoalilhujtl: njman quivaltoquilia Izcalli tlamj, no cempoalilhujtl: njmã iquac valmotlalia macujlilhujtl motenteoa Nemontemj: auh in ontzonquiz macujlilhujtl: njmã ic vmpeoa in Atl cavalo, anoço quavitl eoa, vncã xiuhquitzquilo, vncan peoa in iancujc xivitl, no cempoalli: njmã quioaltoquilia tlacaxipeoalizli no cempoalli: njman quivaltoquilia Toçoztontli, no cempoalli: njman quivaltoquilia vei toçoztli, no cempoalli: njman quivaltoquilia Toxcatl no cempoalilhujtl: ie vncan itpoliuhque Tiacaoan in xaxamacaque, in mexica in mjcoac: njmã quivaltoquilia Etzalqualiztli, no cempoalilhujtl: njman quivaltoquilia Tecujlhujtontli, ie vncan in quizque, vel ipan in ilhujtl in quizque in Españoles, in moioalpoloque, amo tenemachpan, amo iuh catca teiollo inic quizque ioaltica. Auh injc mocempoa in jzquilhujtique matlacpoalli oçe, oncaxtolli: auh in tocnjoan catca chicunapoalilhujtl on caxtolli. Auh in toiaovan catca vmpoalilhujtl:

Auh in oiuh iaque in Españoles: iuh nemachoc in ca oiccn iaque, in ca iccn oiaque, aocmo cepa valmocuepaaque, aocmo cppa imjloch quichiua-

4. The Aztec text skips Azcozcalli.

5. Cf. Anderson and Dibble, op. cit., II—*The Ceremonies*, p. 154.

6. Cf. Anderson and Dibble, op. cit., VII—*The Sun, Moon, and Stars, and the Binding of the Years*, p. 75; Sahagún, Bustamante ed., II, p. 260.

796 Twenty-eighth Chapter. Here is told how the the Mexicans celebrated the feast of Uei [tecu]ilhuitl when the Spaniards had left Mexico.

Injc ompoalli on chicuei cxpiuhlo: vncan mjtoa in quenjn Mexica vei ilhujtl quijchiuhq in jquac oquijxque Españoles vncan mexico.

796 And when [the month of] Uei tecuilhuitl had
778 again arrived, once more the Mexicans celebrated the feast, here, after twenty days.[1] All the images and representations of the devils they once again adorned; each one they bedight with capes, ornamented with feathers, hung with necklaces, and fitted with turquoise mosaic masks. And they put
[237 on them godly capes — the quetzal feather cape,
293] the yellow parrot feather cape, and the eagle feather cape. And this array, the necessary items, the great noblemen guarded.

Auh in oncic vei tecujlhujtl: oc ceppa, ic no ceppa ilhujxquixtique in Mexica, vncā compoalxica. Jn ixquich in jmjxiptlavan, in impatillocan in diablome, ic no ceppa quinococencauhque, quintlaquentique, quinquecquetzalhotique, quincococaxtique, quimonaaquique xiuhxaiacatl, yoan quinquequentia in tequemjtl, in quetzalquemjtl, in toxquemjtl, quauhquemjtl. Auh inin tlatquitl in menec, quipiaia in vevei pipiltin:

796 Then followed after it Tlaxochimaco, which they
● 805 also celebrated for twenty days. Then came after it Xocotl uetzi, which they also observed for twenty days. And with Ochpaniztli they spent the fourth [period of] twenty [days]. With Teotl eco they spent the fifth [period of] twenty [days]; with Tepeilhuitl, the sixth score; with Quecholli, the seventh score. At this point would have been completed a year — if nothing had happened, and if [the Spaniards] had not gone.[2] With Panquetzaliztli they spent the eighth [period of] twenty [days]; with Atemoztli, the ninth score; with Tititl, the tenth score; with Izcalli tlami, the eleventh score; and here set in the Nemontemi, [lasting] five days. Atlcaualo was twelve — or Quauitl eua; Tlacaxipeualiztli, thirteen; Toçoztontli, fourteen;[3] Uei toçoztli was seventeenth; and Tecuilhuitontli, eighteenth. With this had passed one year since [the Spaniards] died at the Tolteca canal.

njman quiçaltoquiliia in Tlaxuchimaco, no ompoaltique: njmā quivaltoquiliia in xocotl vetzi, no compoaltique. Auh in Ochpanjztli ic nappoaltique. Teutl eco: ic macuilpoaltique. Tepeilhujtl chiquacempoaltique. Quecholli ic chicōpoaltique: vncan cexiuhtiznquja y, intlacatle muchivanj, intlacamo ianj. Panquetzaliztli, chicuepoaltique. Atemuztli, chicunappoaltique. Tititl matlacpoaltique. Jzcalli tlamj, ic matlacpoalli oce: njcan in muchioa in Nemontemj, macujlilhujtl. Atl cavalo, matlacpoalli omume, anoço Quavid eoa. Tlacaxipeoaliztli, matlacpoalli omei. Toçoztontli matlacpoalli onnavi. Vei toçoztli, ic caxtolpoalli omume. Tecujlhujtontli, ic caxtolpoalli omei: vncan cexiuhtico y, injc mjcque tulteca acaloca.

805 And when once more they came forth, when again we saw them, [this] one year was in its eleven[th] score [of days], in the month of] Izcalli. From [the direction of] Quauhtitlan they issued forth; they came to establish themselves at Tlacopan for a period of only seven days. Then they departed,

Auh in ic no ceppa quiçaco, in ic no ceppa tiquimjttaque ce xivitl, ipā matlacpoalli oce, ipan in Jzcalli: quauhtitlan in quiçaco, onmotlalico in Tlacuban çan onchicuacēpohco: njmaa inque vaquealtin. Auh ic no ceppa quiçaco, çan quintiquipiaque quauhtitlampa itzinque: çan teopixtl ontenpiaquique in

1. On the Aztec week (compendium: see Müller, op. cit., introduction, unpaginated). — Doubtless the twentieth day is meant, to conform with custom in observation of feast days (personal communication, Rafael Girard Gyarfás).

2. See various translations in Seler, op. cit., p. 559.

3. The fifteenth and sixteenth months are omitted in the Aztec text.

●805 and were gone for forty days. But once more they came forth, to make only a quick foray; from Quauhtitlan they came. Their only object was to set out to slay [those of] Tlalistacapan and Itzacalla; people of Tlatilulco died there.[4] About four hundred perished.

And when they reached a determination, when a decision was reached about us, it was also [still] forty days to Tezcatl, exactly two years since the chieftains had died in the temple courtyard, in the [month of] Tezcatl.[5]

tlalistacapan yiztacalla: tlatilulca in mjcque, achi vel centzontli in mjc.

Auh in tecentlatalhuj, in ie topan nenonotzaloc, no vmpoalitica ipan tezcatl: ie vel ic oxivitl in tlacaoan mjcque in teuivalco, in Tezcatica./.

4. This passage is paralleled in Anales de Tlatelolco, pp. 44-45, §§205-207: "Después partió [Cuauh] quando otra vez a Chiauhtzic. De ay a Tlampan y se volvio a meter en el palacio. . . . Pobres! Mas cuatro mexicanos dichosamente allá, en Tlampan. Y cuatrocientos murieronse de, a causa aquellos. De allá volvieron y se establecieron en Tezcoco. Trescientos (?) (diez) regresó otra vez y se fué a Huexotzinco y a Quauhtitlan. De allá pasó a Tlacopan. Allá pereció quatro Tlatelolcas. De allá pasó por segunda vez y murió allá Tlalhuicampan. Allá pereció quatro Tlatelolcas."

5. Cf. ibid., p. 45, §§209-211.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7



panec, a good part of the Yope remained independent of the Mexicans until the arrival of the Spaniards and gave the Spaniards themselves much trouble.

These Tlapanec and/or Yope seem to be linked with distant groups to the south and north. The nearest kin of the Tlapanec language is that found in Nicaragua,[a] but certain customs of the Yope are identical with those of the Apache.[b]

The recent discovery by Ortega of several codices from the Tlapanec zone provides us with a potential source of information on this formerly almost unknown region.[c] Though the codices are still unexploited, they have already shown that the Tlapanec used a pre-Mexican[d] calendar system. There is less novelty in the observation that the god Xipe Totec came to the highland via the Yope. His temple, which stood where the western towers of the Cathedral of Mexico now stand, was called Yopico.

*Provincial borders in 1519.*—To the northwest of Tlapan lay the province of Tialcoçauhtitlan, to the north that of Quiauhteopan, and to the northeast Yoaltepec—the borderlands of the Mixteca. Tlapan Province extended down to the Pacific Coast to the fortress of Tototepec (not to be confused with the Mixtec kingdom of Tototepec in adjacent Oaxaca). On both sides of this bastion war was continually being waged. The greater portion of the Yope roamed unconquered in Yopitzinco to the west; and to the east was a doubtful region of independent Mixtec peoples, with the other Tototepec of Oaxaca looming as a background power.

### TRIBUTE

*Tribute of the whole province.*—Ortega's startling discovery of the balance of the "Codex Humboldt I"[e] and its identification by Toscano

[a] On the Tlapanec language, see Radin, "The Tlapanec Language of Guerrero," *International Journal of American Linguistics* (1933), 8: 45–72, and Schultz Jena, *Indiana III* (1938).

[b] The only Yope ethnography surviving is in a document published by Federico Gómez de Orozco ("Costumbres, fiestas, enterramientos y diversas formas de proceder de los Indios de Nueva España," *Tlalocan* [1945], 2: 60–61).

[c] See Toscano, "Los codices tlapanecas de Azoyú," *Cuadernos Americanos*, T. 10, N° 4 (1943), pp. 127–136.

[d] That is, with the signs immediately anterior to the familiar Calli-Tochtli series as year-bearers.

[e] Published by Seler, Bulletin 28, Bureau of American Ethnology.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7



NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

197 *Inhabitants and languages.*—The province of Coayxtlahuacan was Mixtec in speech, except for Cuicatec (extending eastward from Cuicatlan), Chinantec (north and east of Atlatlaucca), and, curiously enough, Chocho-Popoloca in the very heart of the province (Tamaçulapan to Coayxtlahuacan).

101 In Coayxtlahuacan Province centered the rich and complicated
175 Mixtec culture, concerning which some detailed information has been preserved for us in such codices as the Nuttall and the Vindobonensis. Most extensive data on the pre-Hispanic history and ethnography of this region can be recovered from these manuscripts when they are fully studied. Many of the towns of this province were originally important city-states, with their own dynastic histories.

171 Among the notable cultural differences separating the peoples of
805 this province from the Náhua, are such variant calendar systems as the Mixtec, studied by Jiménez Moreno,* and the Cuicatec, in the still inadequately investigated "Codex Fernández Leal."

635 *Provincial borders in 1519.*—At the height of the Empire of Moctezuma,
131 Coayxtlahuacan had certain half-intimidated (though not actually subjected) zones to the north, the sprawling Empire province with its Oaxaca garrison to the east, the still resisting Mixtec city-states** to the south, and Tlaxiaco and other Mixtec towns, recently overrun, to the west.

TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—The province of Coayxtlahuacan was exploited for the following items:

CLOTHING

[291] 400 bundles of quilted mantles, richly decorated**
400 bundles of mantles, striped red and white**
400 bundles of black-and-white mantles**
400 bundles of loincloths**
[714] 400 bundles of women's blouses and skirts**
2 warriors' costumes together with shields*

* *Códice de Yanhuitlán.*
** Such as Puctla, Zacatepec, and others the relaciones of which appear in *RMEH*, T. 2, Appendix.

16:Bandelier E-4 (no date) 1880 NU7 Aztec NU7
Maya NU4



A
M
173 The first settlement of Chiapas is ascribed, in the tale of Votan, to *seven families*.[98] But there is still another and more remarkable tradition connected with it. Like the Aborigines of Mexico
A of *Nahuatl* stock, the *Tarasca* of Michhuacan, the *Maya* of
M Yucatan, and the *QQuiché*, *Cakchiquel* and *Zutuhil* of Guatemala,
805 the Aborigines of Chiapas had a month composed of twenty days, bearing each a particular name. It is positively asserted by very old authority, that these twenty days were named after as many chiefs of an equal number of lineages or kins, the latter being the earliest settlers of the country. Furthermore, among these twenty names, four are everywhere prominently distinguished.

men." The last words "xere cahib ri qui chuch oh Quiché vinak," are literally: "though four these (which, who) certainly (surely) mother us (we) QQuiché men." The note by the celebrated Abbé (p. 207, note 3), in which he states that "mother" is often applied to chief, finds a parallel in many passages of *Tezozomoc* when the tribe is also addressed as father and mother. Also *Durán* (Cap. XV, p. 127).

The creation of these four men and four women immediately precedes, in the Popol-Vuh, the tale of the first sacrifice and the distribution of the idols, and is distinctly stated as having occurred during the time of obscurity, the morning star being their only guide and most brilliant luminary ("*Popol-Vuh*," pp. 209, 211, and 213). Now an analogous tale is told by *Sahagun* (Lib. VII, cap. II, p. 248, etc.), about the first appearance of both sun and moon. The Gods disputed about the place where the two celestial bodies would rise, and *four* of them, together with *four* women, looked to the *east* for their coming. The QQuiché tradition (p. 207), places the coming of these first people also in the East. It appears to be, therefore, a tradition originally common to the "Nahuatl" and to the "QQuiché," and its bearing upon the question at issue becomes still more prominent.

[98] The two leading sources on Chiapas namely: *Nuñez de la Vega* ("*Constitution diocesana del Estado de Chiapas*, Roma, 1702), and *Fray Antonio de Remesal* ("*Historia de la Provincia de Chyapa y Guatemala de la Orden de Santo Domingo*," 1619), not being at my command now,—I can but refer the student to them, and to the following works besides: *Lorenzo Boturini Benaducci* ("*Idea de una Nueva Historia General de la America Septentrional*." Madrid, 1776, § XVI, p. 115, copying *Nuñez de la Vega*, 34, § XXX), *Mariano Veytia y Echeverria* ("*Historia antigua de Méjico*," 1836, by Ortega, Vol. I, cap. II, p. 15). *Clavigero* (Lib. II. cap. XII, pp. 164 and 165). *Paul Felix Cabrera* ("*Teatro critico Americano*," german translation by Lieut. *General J. H. von Minutoli*, incorporated in the latter's book. "*Beschreibung einer alten Stadt, die in Guatimala (Neuspanien) unfern Palenque entdeckt worden ist*," p. 30. etc., after Vega also). *Brasseur de Bourbourg* ("*Popol-Vuh*" Introduction. pp. LXXIII, LXXXVII, CXII, etc). *Alex. von Humboldt* ("*Vues des Cordillères et monuments des peuples indigènes de l' Amérique*." 1861. Vol. I, pp. 282 and 283; II, pp. 256 and 257). *Bancroft, H. H.*, (Vol. III, cap. X, pp. 450 and 454; and especially Vol. V, cap. III, from p. 150 on). As usual, very full and valuable, although he does not mention any source older than Nuñez de la Vega. Finally, *A. Bastian* ("*Die Culturlaender des alten Amerika*," 1878, Vol. II, pp. 360 and 362). The latter says that Votan found Chiapas already peopled. This is not confirmed by what I know of Vega and of the other (later) authority *Don Ramon Ordoñez y Aguiar* ("*Historia de la Creacion del Cielo y de la Tierra*" MSS. at the "Museo Nacional" of Mexico). Votan was "sent to divide and distribute the land" *Cabrera* says ("*Beschreibung, etc.,*" "*Teatro.*" p. 33), basing upon verbal communications of *Ordoñez y Aguiar*: "He (Votan) assures, that he brought seven families to this continent, of Valum Votan, and assigned land to them."

16:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7
Maya NU4



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They not only indicate the first day of each "week" of five days, but they also designate the years of the calendar. It is well-known that the largest authentically established cycle of Central American and Mexican natives consisted of 52 years, that is of a thirteen-fold recurrence of the same series of four, named alike, respectively as one of the four initial days of the weekly indictions. This peculiarity, coupled with the positive description furnished in the "Popol-Vuh" of the segmentation of four original kins into a number of smaller ones, and with the fact that nearly every aboriginal settlement, at the present time, divides into four principal groups of inhabitants, becomes suggestive of the inference, not only that the consanguine group was the original type of social organization at the remotest period, but that the ethnography of Mexico and Central America may even be derived from a segmentation of primitive kins, and reassociation of these fragments into tribes, under the influence of time and mutation of residence, dialectical variation aiding.[29]

[29] Without quoting superfluously to prove well-known facts—household words so to say, in Mexican and Central-American archæology—we will place side by side the names of the days of the Mexican, Nicaraguan, Yucatecan, QQuiché, Chiapanecan, and Tarascan month.

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| NAHUATL. | | | MAYA. | | TZENDAL. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Mexican.* | *Niquiran.* | *Tarascan.* | *Maya.* | *QQuiché.* | *Chiapas* and *Soconusco.* |
| Cipactli, | Cipai, | Inbeari, | Ymix, | Imox, | Imox, |
| Ehecatl, | Ecat or Hecat, | Inthaati, | Ix, | Ig, | Igh, |
| Calli, | Cali, | Inbani, | Akbal, | Akbal, | Voïan, |
| Cuetzpalin, | Quespal, | Inxichari, | Kan, | Qat, | Chanan, |
| Coatl, | Coat, | Inchini, | Chicchan, | Can, | Abah, |
| Miquiztli, | Miesiste, | Inrini, | Quimij, | Camey, | Tox, |
| Mazatl, | Macet, | Inpari, | Manik, | Quich, | Moxic, |
| Tochtli, | Toste, | Inchon, | Lamat, | Ganel, | Lambat, |
| Atl, | At, | Inthabui, | Mulue, | Toh, | Molo, |
| Itzcuintli, | Tzquindi, | Intzini, | Oc, | Tzy, | Elab, |
| Ozomatli, | Ocomate, | Intzonlabi, | Chuen, | Batz, | Batz, |
| Malinalli, | Malinal, | Intzimbi, | Eb, | Ci, | Evob, |
| Acatl, | Acate, | Inthikui, | Been, | Ah, | Been, |
| Ocelotl, | Ocelot, | Inixotzini, | Ix, | Itz, | Hix, |
| Quauhtli, | Oste, | Inichini, | Men, | Tziquin, | Tzibin, |
| Cozcacuauhtli, | Coscagoate, | Iniabi, | Quib, | Ahmak, | Chabin, |
| Ollin, | Olin, | Intaniri, | Caban, | Noh, | Chic, |
| Tecpatl, | Tapecat, | Inodon, | Edznab, | Tihax, | Chimax, |
| Quiahuitl, | Quiahit, | Inimbi, | Cauac, | Caok, | Cabogh, |
| Xochitl. | Sochit. | Inettuni. | Ajau. | Hunahpu. | Aghual. |

The four leaders (as I may be permitted to call them), are respectively: In Mexico, *Tochtli, Acatl, Tecpatl, Calli.* In Michhuacan, *Inchon, Inthikui, Inodon, Inbani.* In Chiapas, *Voïan, Lambat, Been, Chimax.* In Guatemala, *Abbal, Ganel, Ah, Tihax.* Finally in Yucatan, *Kan, Muluc, Oc, Cauac.*

I have not the means of discussing the Tarascan calendar of Michhuacan; it is suf-

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It is not surprising therefore if, of the earliest traces which are met with concerning such Aborigines as spoke the "good sound"

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scient for my purpose to establish its identity, in system, with the others. The Nicaraguan days are corruptions of the Mexican names, the "Niquiran" being a "Nahuati" dialect.

Taking now the four remaining groups, we place opposite to each word its translation or interpretation so far as I can trace it, which is of course not always possible.

| *Mexican.* | *QQuiché.* | *Maya.* | *Chiapanec.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Cipactli, *Marine monster.* | Imox. *Sword-fish.* | Ymix. *Dragon.* | Imox. |
| Ehecatl, *Wind.* | Iz. *Breath.* | Yk, *Breath or wind.* | Ich. |
| *Calli, House.* | *Akbal. chaos (?).* | Akbal, (See below). | *Voton.* |
| Cuetzpalin. *Lizard.* | Cat, *Lizard.* | *Kan. Snake.* | Chanan. *Snake.* |
| Cohuatl. *Snake.* | Can. *Snake.* | Chechan. | Abah, *Stone (?).* |
| Miquiztli. *Skull.* | Camey, *Death.* | Quimij, *Death.* | Tox. |
| Mazatl, *Deer.* | Quich. *Deer.* | Manik, (See below). | Moxic. |
| *Tochtli, Rabbit.* | *Ganel. Rabbit.* | Lamat. | *Lambat.* |
| Atl, *Water.* | Toh. *Shower.* | *Mulue.* | Molo. |
| Itzcuintli, *Dog.* | Tzy. *Dog.* | Oc. | Elab. |
| Ozomatli, *Monkey.* | Batz. *Monkey.* | Chuen. (See below). | Batz. *Monkey (?).* |
| Malinalli. *Knot or twist* | Ci, *Broom.* | Eb, *Staircase.* | Eoob. |
| *Acatl, Cane.* | *Ah, Cane.* | Been. | *Been.* |
| Ocelotl, *Wild cat or tiger.* | Itz, *Wizard.* | *Giz, Wizard.* | Hix. |
| Quauhtli. *Eagle.* | Tziquin. *Bird.* | Men. *Builder (?).* | Tzibin. |
| Cozcaquauhtli, *Vulture.* | Ahmak, *Owl.* | Quib, *Gum or wax.* | Chabin. |
| | Noh, *Temperature.* | Caban. | Chic. |
| Ollin, *Motion.* | *Tihax. Obsidian.* | Edznab. | *Chinax.* |
| *Tecpatl, flint.* | Caok, *Rain.* | *Cauac.* | Cahogh. |
| Quiahuitl. *Rain.* | Hunahpu, *Shooter out of a tube.* | Ajau, *Chief.* | Aghual. |
| Xochitl, *flower.* | | | |

For the interpretation, as above attempted, I have consulted the following very limited number of authors:—*Brasseur de Bourbourg* ("*Relation des choses de Yucatan, etc.*" "*Popol-Vuh,*" "*Grammaire Quiché,*" "*Ruines de Palenqué.*") *H. H. Bancroft*, (Vol. II and III). *Orozco y Berra*, ("*Geografia de las Lenguas.*") and other sources. Mr. Bancroft translates the QQuiché "akbal" by *chaos*. I would suggest "*household,*" basing upon the following note of Mr. Brasseur: ("*Chronologia antigua de Yucatan, etc.,*" por *Don Juan Pio Perez* in "Choses de Yucatan," p. 375). "*Akbal*, mot vieilli qu' on retrouve dans la langue Quiché avec le sens de marmite, vase, peut être le même que le mot *con* ou *comitl* des Mexicains." Sr. Perez says about the word: "desconocido: tambien se halla entre los dias chiapanecas, escrito *Aghual*," (p. 374). In this the learned Yucatan is mistaken, for Aghual corresponds to the Maya and QQuiché "Ajau" or "Ahau." Now the pot or rather kettle, was distinctly connected with the housewife, and the word "Akbal" being, as the Abbé tells us, out of use, the suggestion that it may have been used to indicate something like the Mexican "Calli"—house,—is at least permitted.

I have deliberately translated "Kan" by snake, instead of by "cord of hennequen" as Pio-Perez has it (p. 372). Compare note 1 by the Abbé.

Manik is interpreted by Pio-Perez as follows: "es perdida su verladera acepcion; pero si se divide la espresion man-ik viento que pasa, quizá se entenderia lo que fué." If this is accepted, then the signification might be: "fleetness," "swiftness," or "rapidity,"—some of the attributes of the *deer*, which is the corresponding sign in both the Mexican and QQuiché.

Chuen, for the reasons indicated by Brasseur (note 3, p. 372 of "Chronologia, etc.,") should be "monkey," as well as in the three other idioms.

In regard to "Gix" *Sr. Orozco y Berra* (Part II, V, p. 103), copies the three interpretations of Don Pio-Perez, one of which amounts to "the act of plundering or rob-

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or "Nahuatl" language in Mexico, we gather the information that they started off in bands constituting "lineages" or kins. This

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bing a tree." Might there be any vague connection between this and the Mexican "Ocelotl" or beast of prey?

The word "Canac" is mentioned as "desconocido" or disused. Still the analogy in sound with the QQuiché "Caok" rain, is striking, as well as with the Tzendal "Cahogh" and finally also with the Mexican "Quiahuitl."

In regard to the calendar of Chiapas, I regret to say that the material at my command is by far too limited to venture much of an interpretation. Not one of the few Tzendal vocabularies or Grammars yet existing is within my reach. Still I must note here: "Chan" in Tzendal signifies *Snake*, therefore my translation of "Chanan." *Brasseur de Bourbourg* ("*Recherches sur les Ruines de Palenqué*," Cap. II, p. 22, notes 4 and 5).

"Abah" probably *Stone* ("*Palenqué*," p. 65, note 5).

"Batz" as *monkey*, is identified with the three other signs of the same day by *Brasseur* ("*Popol-Vuh*," Introd. p. CXXXV, note 5, Part II, cap. I, p. 69, note 4).

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Furthermore, the signs Imox, Igh, Hix, and Cahogh are, in sound at least, analogous, if not identical, with the corresponding signs of the QQuiché and Maya calendars, and the signs Lambat, Molo, Ileen, and Aghual, are nearly alike to those of the same days of the Maya alone, whereas, Tzibin reminds of the Tziquin in QQuiché.

Taking now the Mexican calendar as a basis, we cannot fail to notice:

(1). That fifteen of its signs are identical with those of the QQuiché.

(2). Three are absolutely identical with signs of the Maya, and five more are presumably identical also.

(3). Two are identical with signs of the Tzendal, and two more presumably so.

Therefore our assumption appears justified, that:—

(1). The Mexican and QQuiché names of the days have a common origin.

(2). That the same is likely in regard to the Maya, since the Maya and QQuiché are regarded as belonging, linguistically, to the same stock.

(3). That a presumption in favor of a similar relation towards the Tzendal of Chiapas may be admitted since, besides the four signs recognized as common to both calendars, there are at least eight more which, in sound, are identical with others of the Maya and QQuiché.

I feel authorized, consequently, to conclude:—

(1). That the names of the days given by the four linguistical clusters above stated, were probably, originally identical.

(2). That these names, therefore, *had a common origin*.

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This origin is stated as follows:—

Mendieta (Lib. IV, cap. XLI, p. 487), "and these Indians affirmed, that in ancient times there came to this land twenty men, and the chief of them was called Cacalcan, . . . . This writes the bishop of Chiapas. . . ." This bishop of Chiapas was *Fray Bartolomé de Las Casas*, who, in the MSS., "*Historia apologética de Indias*" (Vol. III, cap. 124), appears to be more detailed. I quote Las Casas from *Brasseur* and from *H. H. Bancroft*, (Vol. 3, p. 466), where he says (Cap. 123),—the MS. itself not being accessible to me. Now it is commonly admitted, and this admission (whether correct or not) is so general, that no quotations are needed in evidence, that Cacalcan or Cocolcan is identical with the Mexican Quetzalcohuatl. To Quetzalcohuatl, however, is attributed the formation of the *Mexican Calendar*. (*Torquemada*, Lib. VI, cap. XXIV, p. 88. *Mendieta*, Lib. II, cap. XIV, pp. 97, 98.)

In regard to the origin of the Tzendal Calendar, the tradition is very clear. *Ruiz del* ("*Idea, etc.*," § XVI, pp. 113 to 121). Quoting *Nuñez de la Vega* (Ed. § XXVIII of the "*Constitucion Diocesana*") "y prosigue el Prelado diciendo, que al que llamaban Cuxlahuntor (que es el Demonio, segun los *Indios dicen, con gran potestades*) le hacen pintando en Sitio, y con hastas en la cabeza como de carnero, quando dicho Cuxlahuntor se ha de corregir en Tmox, ó Mox, y no está puesto en el Kalendario por Demonio,

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was the case with the so-called "Tolteca," [30] and with all their successors, such as the "Tezcucans," "Tecpanecans," and others, *including the ancient Mexicans.*[31]

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sino por cabeza de los veinte Señores, Symbolos de los Dias de el Año, y assi viene á ser el primer Symbolo de ellos." (See also Idem, pp. 118, 119, quoting Nuñez de la Vega, 23, 24, and 25). "concuerda el Systema de los Kalendarios de Chiapa, y Soconusco con el Tulteco, . . . . pues en lugar de los quatro Caractéres Técpatl, Calli, Téchtli, Acatl, se sirven los de Chiapa de quatro Figuras de Señores, Votan, Lambat, Bacs, y Chinax, etc., etc."

*Clavigero* (Lib. II, cap. XII, p. 161). "The Chiapanecs, if we can place any reliance upon their traditions, were the first settlers of the New World. They claim that Votan, the grandson of the venerable old man who built the great ark in order to save himself and his family during the deluge, and who was one of those who erected the high building that reached into the clouds, set out by special command of God, to people the country." Adopted and quoted also by Señor Don *Francisco Pimentel*, ("*Cuadro Descriptivo y Comparativo de las Lenguas Indígenas de México*," 1865, Vol. II, p. 228.) *Clavigero* (Lib. VI, cap. XXIX, p. 413, Vol. I) "The Chiapanecs . . . . . instead of the figures and names of the rabbit, cane, flint, and house, used the names Votan, Lambat, Bacs, and Chinax, and instead of the Mexican names of the days, they adopted those of twenty celebrated men of their ancestry, among which the four names above mentioned took the same place as among the Mexicans the Rabbit and the others." Compare also, in the appendix to the same volume, p. 623, the "*Letter of the Abbé Don Lorenzo Hervas*," Cesena, 31 July, 1786. *Clavigero* (Vol. II, "Dissertations, etc.," Cap. II, p. 281). After recalling the tradition of Votan, quoting from Nuñez de la Vega, he adds in note b, "Votan is the name of the leader of the 20 celebrated men, after which the 20 days of the month of the Chiapanecs are named."

These statements, which rest upon the writings of Nuñez de la Vega and of Ordonnes y Aguiar, are adopted, among later writers, by:—

*Brasseur de Bourbourg* ("*Popol-Vuh*," Introduction, § V, p. LXXII. "*Chronologie*," in "*Relation des choses du Yucatan*," p. 574, note 4).

The identity of the twenty days of the Chiapanecan months with the names of twenty leaders of as many kins, is very likely, therefore; and since we have found the close resemblance of the Chiapanecan Calendar with that of the Yucatecan Maya, it is not unreasonable to suggest: that the names of the Maya days originally denoted the same twenty kins also. If such is the case (as the tale of Cuculcan and of his nineteen followers also seems to indicate), then the twenty signs of the QQuiché have a similar origin and finally, the actual identity of the QQuiché Calendar with the Mexican or Nahuatl proper lends to the inference that the twenty names of days of the Tzendal, Maya, and Nahuatl groups of sedentary Indians in Mexico and Central America, indicate *a common origin of these three clusters, from twenty kins or clans, or gentes*, at a remote period.

Within these twenty kins there appear *four* more prominent than the other. This again may indicate a *still older* derivation from *four*, out of which the remaining sixteen sprang through segmentation. How such segmentation may occur is plainly stated in the "*Popol-Vuh*," and has been fully referred to by me in "*Towers of Lands*" (p. 391, 392, note 7), to which, in addition to the Indian authority, and to Mr. Morgan's "*Ancient Society*" (Part II, Chapter IV), I beg leave to direct the "curious reader." In regard to the actually prevailing division of Indian settlements into four quarters, it is asserted by *Brasseur de Bourbourg* ("*Popol-Vuh*," Introduction, p. 117), "Enfin, presque toutes les villes ou tribus sont partagées en quatre clans ou quartiers, dont les chefs forment le grand conseil."

I give the above as mere suggestions, begging for their acceptance in a kindly way, since they are not intended to be thrust upon the reader as "results." But I cannot resist the temptation to submit some remarks here, on other peculiarities exhibited

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About the middle of the thirteenth century the Mexicans while on a migration towards more southern regions, made

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by the so-called calendars just named, which peculiarities may throw some light on the questions raised, as to whether they originally denoted kins or not.

With a single exception (Cipactli), the Mexican and allied calendars contained the name of not one object, or phenomenon, which might not be met with *somewhere* over the wide area which the three linguistical stocks occupied at the time of the Conquest. Still, as Sr. Orozco y Berra strikingly proves ("*Geografia de las Lenguas*," Parte IIa, Cap. V, p. 107), the Mexican month contains the names of animals unknown to the ultimate home of the tribe as well as to more northern regions. Thus the monkey ("Ozomatli") is not found on the high central tableland. In regard to the sign Cipactli, I shall elsewhere refer to this sign, which may perhaps denote a "cattle-fish" of monstrous dimensions.

Supposing now (since we have no proof yet to the contrary), that this "marine monster" was also an inhabitant of tropical seas, it must strike us that the twenty signs for the days of the aboriginal calendars under consideration

(1). Represent types and phenomena which are met with, *not exclusively, but still all*, within the area of Mexico and Central America.

(2). That some of the animal types are limited to tropical and low regions only.

(3). That none of the animals belong exclusively to the temperate zone of North America.

Consequently, that these signs are of a meridional origin, and even, taking into account that the monkey is not found in the valley of Mexico, that they originated to the *south* of it. Still, the four "Leaders," as I have called them (the first signs of each "week" of five days), namely: Rabbit, cane, flint, and house,—might as well have been selected at the *north*.

It is a fact abundantly proven, that the kins or gentes composing the tribes of North America are named after a principle identical with that found in the naming of the days among the aborigines of more southerly latitudes, namely: after objects and natural phenomena. Mr. Morgan has given the names of the gentes of at least thirty tribes, consisting in all of two hundred and ninety-six gentes. Of these two hundred and ninety-six names, ninety-eight are signs of the Mexican days, repeatedly found in the different tribes. These signs are as follows:—

| | |
|---|---|
| Itzcuintli, Dog, mostly found, however, as wolf | 22 times. |
| Quauhtli, Eagle | 12 " |
| Coxcoxquauhtli, Hawk (although it is the "ringed vulture") | 8 " |
| Mazatl, Deer, Elk, Caribou, Antelope | 20 " |
| Cohuatl, Snake | 9 " |
| Atl, Water (also as "Ice," "Sea," etc.) | 4 " |
| Miquiztli, Skull (as "Head") | 1 time. |
| Ollin (as "many seasons" and "Sun") | 2 times. |
| Calli, House (as "high village" and "lodge") | 3 " |
| Tecpatl, Flint (as "knife") | 2 " |
| Ocelotl, Tiger (also as "panther" and "wild cat") | 6 " |
| Ehecatl, Wind | 1 time. |
| Acatl, Cane (also as "Indian corn") | 3 times. |
| Tochtli, Rabbit (also as "hare") | 3 " |
| Cuetzpalin, Lizard ("frog") | 1 time. |
| Xochitl, Flower (as "Tobacco") | 1 " |
| Quiahuitl, Rain | 1 " |

I beg to observe, that if I have added "Cencequauhtli" to this list, supposing it to be the equivalent of "Hawk," this is a mere suggestion, and not an affirmation on my part.

Thus sixteen, if not seventeen, of the twenty signs of days of the Mexican month, are found in North America as "*totems*" *probably of aboriginal clans or kins.*

It is further interesting to note, that of the nine clans composing the Moqui tribes of Arizona, the names of seven correspond to signs of Mexican days, ("*Ancient Society*," Part II, p. 179). What little is known of the Laguna Indians foreshadows a similar result (p. 180), thus permitting the query, whether the pueblo Indians of the

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their first appearance in the northern sections of the former republic of Mexico, as a cluster of seven kins, united by the bond of common language and worship.[20] The names of these seven kins are distinctly stated and it is not devoid of interest to notice that some of these names were perpetuated as late as 1690 among the numerous "Indian wards" of the present City of Mexico.[21] We may as well add here, that these

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central west might not perhaps show a closer connection yet between the very ancient Mexican kins as denoted by their days, and the gentes composing their own tribes.

After these speculations, which I submit for what they may be worth, and with the distinct reserve that I do not attach any value to them save as hints and queries for further investigation, I beg leave to state, that in my fourth paper "On the Creed and Belief of the Ancient Mexicans," I intend to discuss all these points with more thoroughness, and, I hope, with the aid of more suitable material than that now at my command.

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[20] *Ixtlilxochitl* ("*Relaciones Históricas*" "*Segunda Relacion*," Kingsborough, Vol. IX, p. 323) "y casi el último de estos años se juntaron dos cabezas principales y los otros cinco inferiores á tratar si se quedarian en esta tierra ó si pasarian mas adelante." Also "*Noticias de los Pobladores y Naciones de esta Parte de América llamada Nueva-España*" ("*Tercera Relacion de los Tultecas*," Kingsborough, IX, p. 333), "Estos siete caudillos . . . . . con todas sus gentes vinieron descubriendo y poblando por todas las partes que llegaban." ("*Histoire des Chichimèques*," Cap. I, p. 13), "Ils avaient sept chefs, et choisissaient alternativement un d'entr'eux pour les gouverner." In addition to authorities quoted on the Toltecs in "*Tenure of Lands*" (p. 288, note 7, to p. 341). I refer to *Vetancurt* ("*Teatro Mexicano*," Vol I, Part II, Trat. I. Cap. IV, p. 234). *Granados y Galvez* (in Tarde, p. 31).

[21] "*Tardes Americanas*" (p. 31), "bien se que los mapas de estos no nos pintan tierras, sino familias: y como estos vagaron sin fixeza alguna por sus varios rumbos. . . . . ." It is superfluous to quote authorities in full, I but refer to "*Histoire des Chichimèques*" (Cap. V, pp. 26, 29; X, p. 70). *Sahagun* (Lib. X, cap. XXIX). The whole chapter is very important. *Durán* (Cap. II, pp. 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, III; pp. 19, 20, 21, and plates I, to Trat. I°, also pl. 1, to Trat. II°). *Acosta* (Lib. VII, cap. II, p. 454, and cap. III entire). *Mendieta* (Lib. II, cap. XXXIV, p. 147). *Torquemada* (Lib. I, cap. XXIII, p. 31; cap. XXVI, p. 54; Lib. II, cap. I, p. 76, etc.). *García* ("*Origen*, etc.," Lib. III, cap. I, p. 81; Lib. V, cap. III, p. 281). *Herrera* (Dec. III, Lib. II. cap. X, pp. 50, 60). *Veytia* (Lib. II, cap. VI, p. 20 of 2d Vol.). *Vetancurt* (Vol. I, "*Teatro*," Parte II, Trat. I, cap. IX, pp. 254, 255). *Clavigero* (Lib. II, cap. IV, pp. 146, 147), and others.

[22] The number seven (7) is almost generally accepted. Compare "*Tenure of Lands*" (p. 288, and note 21). Besides the authors there mentioned as accepting seven kins, I refer to *Dr. Ad. Bastian* ("*Die Culturländer des Alten Amerika*," Vol. II, p. 466, note 2). *Cabrera* (in *Mendoll's Palenqué*, p. 77. Rather confused).

[23] I have gathered these names out of the following sources: *Durán* (Cap. III, pp. 20, 21), *Tezozomoc* (Cap. I, p. 6, Kingsborough, Vol. IX), *Veytia* (Lib. II, cap. XII, p. 91 of 2d Vol.). They are stated as follows:—

| *By Durán.* | *By Tezozomoc.* | *By Veytia.* |
|---|---|---|
| Yopica. | Yapica. | Yopica. |
| Tlacochcalca. | Tlacochcalca. | Tlacochcalca. |
| Huitznahuac. | Huitznahuac. | Huitznahuac. |
| Cihuatecpaneca. | Cihuatecpaneca. | Cihuatecpaneca. |
| Chalmeca. | Chalmeca. | Chalmeca. |
| Tlacatecpaneca. | Tlacatecpaneca. | Tlacatecpaneca. |
| Izquiteca. | Izquiteca. | Itzcuintecatl. |

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The place where this council assembled, was necessarily the official house of the tribe or "tecpan,"[182] and there they met at stated intervals, possibly twice every Mexican month of twenty days.[183] Such meetings were fully attended, and they could be called, besides, at any time.[184] There is evidence that, during

*Testimonio* ("Tezcoco," p. 187): "Habia tambien abogados y procuradores; á los primeros llamaban Tepantlatoani (el que habla por otro)."

[182] *Molina* (II, p. 92): "casa ò palacio real, ó de algun señor de salua." But of special importance is the following definition (I, p. 91): "Palacio real" — "tecpan, tlatocan, totocacan." This shows that the tecpan was really the place where the council met." *Sahagun* (Lib. VIII. cap. XIV, pp. 302 and 303. Cap. XXV, p. 314). *Mendieta* (Lib. II, cap. XXVIII, p. 134). *Ixtlilxochitl* ("*Histoire des Chichimèques*," Cap. XXXVI, pp. 247-252). *Puglia* (III. cap. VII, p. 199). *Torquemada* ("*Monarquia*," Lib. XIV, cap. VI, p. 544), identifying "la Corte" with the "lugar de Juzgado, ó Audiencia." Further quotations are useless.

[183] This fact is implied by *Ixtlilxochitl* ("*Hist. des Chichimèques*," cap. XXXVIII, pp. 267, 268 and 269), when he affirms that, in notifying a hostile tribe of the intention to make war upon it, the notification was repeated thrice, at intervals of twenty days. *Puglia* ("*Historia antigua de Méjico*," Lib. III, cap. VII, p. 209), says that every twelve days "cada doce dias," the courts met to report to the "emperor." This is rather strange since (Id., p. 208, etc.), he says that these courts sat daily in what he calls the "palace." *Torquemada* (Lib. XI, cap. XXVI, p. 353): "De dies à dies Dias, y á mas tardar, de doce à doce, hacia junta el Rei de todos los jueces, asi de las Audiencias del Reino, como de los de sus Consejos." In this case he speaks of Tezcuco. *Mendieta* (Lib. II, cap. XXVIII, p. 132): "Y asi, á lo mas largo, los pleitos árduos, se concluian á la consulta de los ochenta dias, que llamaban nappoalltatolli, demas que cada dies ó doce dias el señor con todos los jueces tenian acuerdo sobre los casos árduos y de mas calidad." *Burlin* ("*Rapport*, etc.," p. 101): "Tous les douze jours il y avait une assemblée générale des juges présidé par le prince. On y jugeait les affaires difficiles, celles de crimes qualifiés, et l'on examinait minutieusement tous les détails." *Clavigero* (Lib. VII, cap. XVI, p. 488), is very positive: "Each Mexican month, or within twenty days, a meeting of all the judges was held in presence of the King, to decide upon all cases not yet disposed of." He evidently bases the statement upon *Gomara* ("Conquista," etc., Vedia I, p. 441). "Consultan con los señores cada mes una vez todos los negocios," according to *Sr. Orozco y Berra* ("*Ojeada sobre Cronologia Mexicana*," Introduction to the "Crónica Mexicana," published under the supervision of Señor José M. Vigil, pp. 174 and 178). Gomara rests principally upon an unpublished series of documents, entitled "*Libro de Oro*," now in possession of my friend, Sr. Icazbalceta, which collection was formed by the Franciscans under the auspices of the unjustly abused Fray Juan de Zumárraga, between 1531 and 1547. The statement of Clavigero is, therefore, not to be rejected. The "*Codice Ramirez*" (p. 65) says: "los quales daban noticia al Rey cada cierto tiempo de todo lo que en su Reyno passaba y se habia hecho." It is, therefore, to say the least, likely, that the full council met once a month, but, as we have stated in order to be just towards all, it is equally possible that it may have met twice. The reference to "Judges" needs no explanation. It is self-evident that for judiciary matters, alone, such meetings of executive officers were superfluous. Matters of government came up also,—and this is decisive of the kind of officers that were members of the tribal council, since they alone could fill such positions. These meetings were, therefore, full meetings of the council, and nothing else.

[184] This is abundantly proven by what has at last been recognized by *Sr. Orozco y Berra* as well as by my friend, *Sr. Chavero* ("*Ojeada*," etc.) as specifically Mexican sources of aboriginal history. See for inst.: "*Codice Ramirez*" (pp. 58, 60, 66, 67, 68). "*Fragmento No.* 1°" (pp. 134, 137, 138, etc.). "*Fragmento No.* 2" (pp. 137, 147, etc.).

# De la Arte Adivinatoria

FOURTH BOOK, WHICH TELLETH OF THE BOOK OF DAYS WHICH THE MEXICANS HANDED DOWN. THIS WAS IN ORDER THAT THE READERS OF THE DAY SIGNS[1] MIGHT STUDY THE GOOD AND EVIL DAYS. IN IT WERE SET FORTH THE DAY SIGNS HERE RECOUNTED, AND HOW THOSE WOULD FARE WHO WERE BORN ON THEM. AND THIS BOOK OF DAYS IS MORE CORRECTLY CALLED SORCERY, FOR IT BELONGED TO THE SORCERERS.

INIC NAVI AMUXTLI: YTECHPA TLATOA, IN TONALAMATL, IN QUIXTITLANIA MEXICA: IEHOATL INIC QUIXTTAIA TONALPOUHQUE, IN QUALLI CEMILHUITL, IOAN AMO QUALLI: YN IPAN MONEZCAIOTITIUH TONALLI, IN NICAN MOTENEOA: AUH IN QUENAMIQUE IEZQUE IN IPAN TLACATIA. AUH IN, Y, TONALAMATL OC CENCA IE MELAOAC, IC MOTOCAIOTIZ, NAOALLOTL, CA NAOALTI INTECH POVIA.

X-787 First Chapter, which telleth of the first sign, which was named One Crocodile, and of the good fortune which they merited who were born then — men or women. These same destroyed and ruined it because of their negligence.[2]

Inic ce capitulo, ipechpa tlatoa, inic centetl machiotl: in jnoca ce cipactli, ioan in qualli tonalli in quimacoaia, in vncan tlacatia, in toquichti, in cioa: çan ieheoatin quipoloaia, quimoclacalhuiaia, yn ipampa in ixtlamatilitz.

● 805 Here beginneth the count of each day. Just as each week was reckoned, so each of the thirteen-day periods went taking its place until one year had passed. Once more at its start began the count of each day.

The first day count was named One Crocodile.[3] It was the very beginning and precise starting point of all the day counts, whereby began, continued, and came to an end the year [of 260 days].[4]

Nican pena in cecemilhuitlapoalli in iuhquj cecentetl semana ic mopoaia, matlatlaquilhuitl omoey motlalitiuh, inic otlatocatiuh ce xivitl: Oc ceppa itzintlan oalpeoa in cecemilhuitl tlapoalli.

Achto tonalpoalli yeoca ce cipactli: vel ipeuhca, vel itzin in cemilhuitlapoalli, ynic vmpeuhtiuh, ôtlatocatiuh: ioan inic outlantiuh ce xivitl.

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1. Cf. Bernardino de Sahagún: *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* (Angel María Garibay K., ed.; México: Editorial Porrúa, S. A., 1956; hereafter referred to as Garibay ed.), Vol. IV, p. 359 (Tonalpouhqui); also Horacio Carochi: *Arte de la lengua mexicana* (México: Imprenta del Museo Nacional, 1892), pp. 425 ff., where in conjugation of the verb *pouj*, the preferred meaning is "to read." Alonso de Molina: *Vocabulario de la lengua mexicana* (John Pinkerton, ed.; Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1880), and Rémi Siméon: *Dictionnaire de la langue nahuatl ou mexicaine* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1885), give the meanings "to read," "to relate," etc., besides "to count." See also Miguel León-Portilla: *La filosofía nahuatl estudiada en sus fuentes* (México: Instituto Indigenista Interamericano, 1956), p. 395; or pp. 204 ff. above for a discussion of the counts and reading of day signs.

2. In Bernardino de Sahagún: *Historia de las cosas de Nueva España* (Francisco del Paso y Troncoso, ed.; Madrid: Hauser y Menet, 1905), Vol. VII (hereafter referred to as *Real Palacio MS*), pp. 280 ff., the text has been divided into the chapters which appear in the *Florentine Codex*, and each one given a descriptive heading, in Spanish and in Sahagún's handwriting. The Aztec heading appears to be a confusion in Nahuatl of Sahagún's Spanish. It will be noted that some of the chapter divisions to be found below appear to be arbitrary.

3. In the "Primera Minuta-Indice" of the *Real Palacio MS* (Vol. VI of the Paso y Troncoso ed.), pp. 73-74, 107, Sahagún begins the day count with One Dog (*en blanco*).

4. *Xivitl*. Though the term means a year of 365 days, a 260-day ceremonial year is meant.

805 It became as the leader of this group of thirteen days which belonged with it: Two [Wind],[5] Three House, Four Lizard, Five Serpent, Six Death, Seven Deer, Eight Rabbit, Nine Water, Ten Dog, Eleven Monkey, Twelve Grass, and Thirteen Reed.

187 These various days, as it was said, all were good. He who was then born a nobleman, it was stated, would be a lord, a ruler; he would prosper; he would be rich and wealthy. And if a commoner were then born, he would be a brave warrior—a valiant chief, esteemed, honored, and great. He would always eat. And if a woman were then born, she would also prosper and be rich. She would have drink and food available. She would have food for others to eat; she would invite others to feast. She would be respectful. She would be visited by others; she would await them with drink and food, with which to revive and refresh the spirits and bodies of those who lived in misery on earth, who, as they slept so they awoke—the destitute old men and women, and orphans; the forsaken; and all would be realized and come to pass that was undertaken; nothing would fail; of her fatigue and effort, nothing would be in vain. Successful would be her dealings around the market place, in the place of business; it was as if it would sprinkle, shower, and rain her wares upon her.

And furthermore they said that even though favorable was the day sign on which he had been born, if he did not strictly perform his penances, if he took not good thought, if he did not accept the reprimands and punishment meted out to him, the punishment with which he was punished and the correction with which he was corrected, the exhortations of the old men and the old women; if he became bad and perverse and followed not the way of righteousness, succeeded in nothing, and entirely by his own acts brought himself to ruin, despised himself, brought harm to himself, failed, lost through his own neglect, gave up, and endangered that which might be his good fortune,—his reward, and his lot: then he tarnished, polluted, and ruined with debauchery his birthright. Thus he found and merited affliction. As was the sleep, so was the awakening.[6] Nowhere was he content, nowhere

Inju matlactetl vmei in tonalli, in iuhquj itlavilanoan muchioa, yn jtech povi: ichoatl in vme acatl, ey calli, navi cuetzpali, macujlli coatl, chiquacen mjquiztli, chicome maçatl, chicuei tochtli, chicunavi atl, matlactli itzcujntli, matlactli oce oçomatli, matlactli vmome malinalli, matlactli onej acatl.

In jaqujtetl in tonalli: iuh mjtoaia, muchi qualli: in aqujn ipan tlacatia pilli; mjtoaia tecutix, tlatocatix, motlacamatix, mocujltonoz, motlamachtix: Auh intla macoalli ipan tlacatia, oqujchtix, tiacauhtix, maviztix, panvetziz, motleiotix, onca qujquanj iez: auh intla çioatl ipan tlacati, no motlacamatiz, mocujltonot, oniez in qujz, in qujquaz, tetlaqualtiz, tecoanotzaz, tetlacamatix, ipan calaoaz, qujtechieltiz in atl, in tlaqualli: ypal ihiiocujoaz, ypal ceviz in jiollo, in jnacaio, in tlaihiiovitinemj tlalticpac, in iuhquj cochi, in iuhquj meoa, in jcnoveve, yn jcnoilama, in jcnopiltziotli, in tlacnocaoalli: yoan muchi nelti, muchi onieoatiz, in tlein masilia, atle nenqujçaz, in jçiaviz, yn jtlapaliviz, atle nenvetziz, vel motitianqujz in tianquiznaoac, in nentlamachoian: iuhqujn pipixaviz, ipan tepeviz, ipan tzetzeliviz in jtiamjc.

Auh no yoi quitoaia: ma nel ivi in qualli itonal ipan otlacat, intlacamo vellamacoa, intlacamo vel monotza, intlacamo qujcuj, intlacamo itech qujpachoa, in atl cecec, in tzitzicaztli, yn inonotzaloca, in izcaliloca, in venetlatolli, yn jlamatlatolli, in çan tlaueliloti, tlavelilocati, in çan ilic vtli qujtoca, atle onquiça, çan ynevian mopopolox, motelchioa, mjxpopoiomjctia, mjiecoa, conmjxcaoaltia conmocavilia, qujmjtlacalhuja, yn jmlcoal iezquja, yn itonal, yn jnemac, qujteuhiotia, qujtlaçollotia, qujtlaçolmjctia yn itlacatilis: ic cococ, teupouhquj qujmottitia, qujmomaçevia, in iuhquj cochcaiotl, iuhquj neuhcaiotl, acan avia, acan vellamati, ompa onquiça in qujtzaqua tlalticpac netolinjlixtli: ca nel ononeviiavi, yn jpampa yn jtlauelilocaio, inj atle ipan tlamaliz, yn iaquentlattaliz, yn jtlaaujlmachiliz, niac ococaujli, ca ixcoian ynevian oquimochichivili in toneviztli, in chichinaqujstli, ic telchioalo, aoc tle ipan itto, aoc ac

5. *Vme acatl* has been corrected to read *ome acatl* in the *Real Palacio MS*, p. 280.

6. *In iuhquj motlatoiat, iuhquj motlatoiaiot*: Cornelio, *op. cit.*, pp. 971, 976, favors the meaning of a general statement (*motlatoa* reminds; *motlatoiaiot*, reminders). Though his examples do not parallel this phrasing here found. Possibly the reduplying should be: "As for statements, reminders was he content."

X 787 her spinning bowl, her sweeper, and her broom.
844 Thus they showed that the girl was one who went nowhere; only the house was her abode. Hence, near the grinding stone, at the edge of the hearth, they buried her umbilical cord.

X 787 And this count of days—so was it claimed—
791 was an invention of the two called and named Oxomoco and Cipactonal, who gave it to the people. Oxomoco they painted as a woman, and Cipactonal
805 [as] a man. They who were readers of day signs embellished their book of days with their representations, which they placed in the middle when they painted them. For it was so said that there they became lords of all the day count.

in ſcampa ianj cioamintli, çan cali ichan: ic çan metlatitlan, tecujlnacaxco onatocaia yn jtic.

Auh inin tonalpoalli, iuh mjtoaia: ichoan intlanextil, ichoan quitemacaque, in vmentin teneoalo, intoca Oxomoco, ioan cipactonal: in Oxomoco ciuatl inic quicuiloaia: auh in Cipactonal oquichtli: in tonalpoalhque catca yn jatonalamanh quiollotiaia, yn jmjxiptla ynepantla quintlaliaia, inic quicuicuiloaia: ca iuh mjtoaia: vncan tlatoque muchioa yn jpan ſnquich tonalpoalli.

[p. 4]

**Second Chapter, which telleth of the second [day] sign, which was named One Ocelot, and which was not a good day sign for those who were born on it — men and women — to obtain reward; but, nevertheless, he who showed prudence might well be saved through forethought; and of those born on [this day sign] almost all became slaves.**

Injc vme capitulo: itechpa tlatoa, injc vntetl machivtl, in jtoca ce ocelutl: ioan in amo qualli tonalli, in qujmomáceviaia in aqujque ipan tlacatia, in toquichti, in cioa: auh tel in jca innezcaliliz, in vel nenotzalizpatia: auh in aqujque in jpan tlacatia, y, achi muchintin tlatlacoti muchioaia. 787X

**The second day sign which set in was named One Ocelot. When it set in, it was said to be an evil day sign, one of fierce beasts.**

**It bore with it and presided over all its series[1] of thirteen, which belonged to it: Two Eagle, Three Vulture, Four Motion, Five Flint Knife, Six Rain, Seven Flower, Eight Crocodile, Nine Wind, Ten House, Eleven Lizard, Twelve Serpent, and Thirteen Death.**

Injc ome moquetza tonalli: ytoca ce oçelutl. In jquac in moquetza, mjtoaia ixpo qualli tonalli, tequantonalli, 787X

qojcemvica, qujcentlaça, yn itlavilan matlactli vmei, in jtech povi, ichoantin, y, vme quauhtli, ci conca-quauhtli, navi olin, macujlli tecpatl, chiquaçen quja-vitl, chicome xochitl, chicuey cipactli, chicunavi he-catl, matlactli calli, matlactli oce, cuetzpali, matlactli vmome coatl, matlactli vmei mjqujztli: 805

**And those who were then born, whether nobleman or commoner, so it was said, would die in war, be taken away, abandoned, imprisoned, seized. And all bad was his lot; misery befell him. He only wallowed in evil and he was covered with filth. Nowhere had he good repute. He committed adultery, was an adulterer, adulteress, one who seized other skirts and blouses, one who remained on female navels.**

auh in aquijque ipan tlacatia, y, in ixo pilli, anoço macevalli: auh mjtoa ixomjquja, vicuia, canaloia, cal-aqujloia, axioaia, ioan muchi amo qualli in jmixcoal, in jcnopil muchioaia, çan teuhtli, tlaçolli, ic mjlaca-tzotzinemj, teuhtli tlaçolli cololotinemj: acan tlaca-itolo, tetlaxima, tepan iauh, tetlan aaquj, cucid, vi-pilli tepan cana, icioaxic ietinemj. 787X

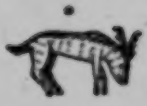
**And even though one such became a valiant chieftain, brave, a taker of captives, indeed he sold and yielded himself to slavery; he became someone's digging stick and tump line; he yielded to the digging stick and tump line. So it was said: "Thus was his day sign; thus was his life. On such a day was he born; thus was his birthright."**

Auh intlanel ixa tlacauh, oquichtli, tlamanj mu-chioaia, vel momamacaia, motlacocaoaia, tevic, teme-capal muchioaia, victli, mecapalli qujmonitilia, iuh mjtoaia: ca iuhquj itonal, iuhquj iol, iuhquj ipan tlacat, iuhquj itlacatiliz:

**But [if] he emerged great, some brave chieftain, he was not sold [but] lived on earth in tranquillity: one who was not lazy; diligent and careful, vigilant, a receiver of [ritual] benefits, a doer of penances, one who fasted and bled himself; who swept, shook out clothing, gathered up rubbish, laid fires, and at night held vigil, rose in vigor, and was circumspect; who**

auh çi vei quiçaia in ixa tlacauh, amo momama-caia, in jvian oalnemja tlaltiepac: ichoxi in amo tlatziuhqui, in jeel, in tlamocujtlavianj, in cochiçanj, in tlacetlanj, in tlamaceoanj, in moçanxnj, in mjxnj, in tlachpanarj, in tlamemelonj, in tlacujcujnj, in tletlalianj, in ioalli quiçentoc, in popoxiuhtzoa, in mo-cujtiveni, in amo moteneca, in amo meriocaoa, in

1. The linguistic concepts illustrated in this sentence by the use of *quí-cemiza* and *itlavilan* present a semantic problem difficult to put into English. Therefore in this book we generally translate *cem-* as "one with it," and *itlavilan*, or *itlavilanca*, as "its series," or complement, or group.



Third Chapter, which telleth of the third sign, named One Deer; and the good fortune which those then born — men or women — merited. And if it were not realized, these lost it through laziness.

In third place set in a day sign, the one [named] One Deer, and it also bore with it thirteen [days]. These are Two Rabbit, and Three Water, Four Dog, Five Monkey, Six Grass, Seven Reed, Eight Ocelot, Nine Eagle, Ten Vulture, Eleven Motion, Twelve Flint Knife, and Thirteen Rain.

Many of these day signs, it was said, were good and of a propitious time. Nevertheless, some mixed and mingled with them, so that they corrupted, as will be told. Here are told their qualities as they went in order.

He who was then born a nobleman, who was of noble lineage,[1] became a ruler and gained fame. Because of him there was drink and food; he rewarded others and bestowed upon and laid before them capes, breech clouts, head bands, lip pendants, and ear plugs.

And if it were only a commoner who was then born, the same likewise befell him. He attained his ends; he succeeded. He lived. He became a brave warrior, a valiant chieftain. He surpassed others; he left them overcome. He did not wish to lose stature. Nowhere did he hang on at the end. Nowhere was he inferior, the younger brother, the child, the blighted one. Proceeding everywhere mature, [like] something well-developed; going first and foremost, at the head, he brought his life to successful fruition. Nowhere did he deal in shameful things; he was ashamed of nothing and ashamed of no one. Nothing deterred him; he did not live in humiliation; nowhere did he turn tail in battle. In nothing did they consider him a woman.

Injc ei capitulo, itechpa tlatoa: injc ereti machiotl, in jtoca ce maçatl: yoan in qualli tonalli, in qujmomaceviaia yn ipan tlacatia, in toquichti, in cioa: auh intlacamo inpan neltiaia, çan iehoantin in tlatzivilitica quipoloaia. 787X

Injc expa moquetza tonalli: iehoatl in ce maçatl, no matlactlomej quivica, ichoatl in vme tochtli, ey atl, navi itzcujxtli, macujlli ocomatli, chiquacen malinalli, chicome acatl, chicuei ocelotl, chicunavi quauhtli, matlactli coecaquauhtli, matlactli ce olin, matlactlomome tecpatl, matlactlomei quiavitl. 787X 805

In jxquitetl in tonalli, mjtoaia: qualli, ieccan: auh tel cequj itla actiuh, itzalan actiuh, injc idiacuhtiuh, in iuh motenoaz: vncan mjtoa innenexincaujltoca, injc tecpantivi: 787X

in aquin ipan tlacati pilli, in tetzon, in teixti, in tetzicuenbca, in tetzicuecaſlo, in tetlapanca, in tetechpa quiz, iol, in teujcztzo, in teoaxio, in tetentzon, in teixquamol, in tecaço, in tetlapallo, tlatocaiotia, oalmoteniotiaia, ipal acſioaia, ipallaquaioia, tetlauhtiaia, qujtemecaia, tetech qujtlaliaia in tilmatli, in maxtlatl, in tlalpilonj, in teçacatl, in nacochtli:

auh intla çan macoxalli ipan tlacatia, no iuhquj ypan machioaia, oallacnopilhoaia, oalquiçaia, oalnemjz, oqujchtia, tiacauhtia, techcaoaia, teihicaoaia: amo nopatzacallanj, ăcan tlatzimpiloa, ăcan tetzacuja, ăcan teiccauhti, xococoxi, amo patzactzintli, noviian mochamauhtiuh, tlachamaujhtiuh, tachcauh icatiuh, tlaiacatitiuh, panj icatiuh, cosqujxtilitiuh yn jnemjliz, ăcan pinaviztlamati, atle quimamati, aiac quimamati, atle quitzicololtia, amo papaxoxomj, ăcan tzinqujxcatlaiecoa, atle quicioatlamachtia.

1. Andrés de Olmos, in *Gramatica de la lengua mexicana con vocabulario* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1875), p. 212, groups most of these terms as synonymous with "*Personne de dignité, qui aime de se montrer*"; Sahagún, in "Vocabulario con sendos," *Academia de la Historia* MS (Vol. VI of the Paso y Troncoso ed.), cap iv, pp. 286, 288, defines the terms figuratively as *persona que tiene autoridad*. Rincon, *op. cit.*, as well as Sahagún, *loc. cit.*, gives literal meanings of most of them. See also Sahagún, *Florentine Codex*, Book VI, cap. xiiii, fol. 280r.

X 787 Seventh Chapter, which telleth of the fourth sign, named One Flower. And the man born upon it, they said, and it was averred, would be happy, quite able, and much given to song and joy: a jester, an entertainer. And it was said that the women were great embroiderers. It was said that this sign was indifferent; that is to say, a little bad and a little good.

X 787 One Flower and all of its various companions set in, so forming [a set of] thirteen days. Two Crocodile followed it, and Three Reed,[1] Four House, Five Lizard, Six Serpent, Seven Death, Eight Deer, Nine Rabbit, Ten Water, Eleven Dog, Twelve Monkey, and Thirteen Grass.

X 787 These various ones, it was said, were evil; but also it was said that they were somewhat good.

In this manner was considered the one then born, nobleman or only commoner. He would become a singer, a bearer of joy, a teller of tales, an artisan. And he found and merited his consolation, his riches. He lived content and happy when he was devoted to his day sign; that is, when he reflected and did his penance well.

And [as for] him who was not devoted to it, who disregarded it, who only disdained his day sign, then, so was it said, when one such was a singer, or some artisan or skilled craftsman, if there was food on hand and wealth was there, he became presumptuous, superior, ungrateful, proud, haughty, disrespectful, filled with pride. So he acted superior in mind and heart, in his songs, and in his wisdom, as a poet, a designer, a composer, a master of song.

And if somewhere there were an invitation to a feast and to song, to discussion and the forgivenness of differences, he disregarded and ignored the sweetness of the protector of all,[2] the flowers, tobacco, sumo-

Inic chicome capitulo, itechpa tlatoa: injc nauhtetl machiotl, yn jtoca ce xuchitl: auh in toquichtí ipan tlacatia, quitoaia: quilmach papaquiuj iez, vel motcaliauj: ioan vel quimocuitlavia in cujcatl, ioan in paquiliztli, ioan cicamanaltinj, cicamanale: auh quil in cioa, vevey tlamachiuhque: quilmach çan tlanepantla ca injn machiotl, quitouuequj achi tetolinj, ioan achi qualli.

Moquetza ce xuchitl, ioan yn jxquiuetl ytlavilanoan: injc matlactetl omei tonalli muchiuhtica in yehoatl contoquilia vme cipactli, yoan ey acatl, navi calli, macuilli cuetzpali, chiquacen coatl, chicome mjquiztli, chicuei maçatl, chicunavi tochtli, matlactli atl, matlactli ce ytzcuintli, matlactlomome ocomatli, matlactlomey malinalli:

in jxquiztl in, mjtoaia amo qualli: auh yoan mjtoaia, achi qualli.

Injc motta in aquin ipan tlacatia pilli, in anoço çan maceoalli cujcanj, papaquinj, tlatlaquetzanj, totoltecatl machioaia: auh quittaia, quimaceoaia in jneiollaliliz, in jnetlamachtil, pactiuenca, vellamatia: in jquac ipan mjmatia ytonal, quitouuequj: in jquac vel monotzaia, in vel ontlamaceoa.

Auh in aquin amo ipan mjmatia, in atle ipan quittaia: çan quitlavelia yn jtonal: ca iuh mjtoa: in jquac aquin cujcanj, anoço aca toltecatl, tlachichiuhquj: intla ie vnca quiquanj, ye vnca ynecuiltonol: auh ie conpopoa, ijxco, ijcpac, ie quimana, conteposaltia, ya ic moquetza, in ic moquixtia, ic teijxco, teicpac nemj, ic atlamattinemj, ic cuecuenoti, injx, injiollo, in jcujcanjo, in inemach, injc tlatlatianj, injc tlaiollujanj, injc cujcapiquinj, inic cujcatoltecatl:

auh intla cana coanotzalo, cuicatlalhujlo, tlacaquitilo, molcaoaltilo, aocmo vmpa conjtta, aoc tle ipan quitta, in javiaca, in jxopelica in tloque, in nanaque, in xochitl in jetl, in atl, in tlaqualli: auh in xerilma-

1. The *Real Palacio MS* gives the correct day, *acatl*.

2. Tezcatlipoca. Cf. *Florentine Codex*, Book VI, fol. 20v (*tezcapolli, omitjan*).

K 787 **Eighth Chapter**, which telleth of the fifth sign, named One Reed. And it was not a good day, [nor] those with it. It was said that those born then, if they were born in the ninth house, named Nine Crocodile — they said and it was averred that one would be a slanderer and bearer of false witness. And it was thought that this sign was the day of Quetzalcoatl. Therefore the lords and noblemen then paid their devotions and made offerings.

Injc chicuei capitulo: itechpa tlatoa, injc macujltetl machiotl, in jtoca ce acatl: auh amo qualli tonalli in jtech ca, qujlmach in aqujque vncan tlacatia, intla vncan tlacatia, injc chicunauhtetl calli, in jtoca chicunavi cipactli: qujtoaia qujlmach cenca techicoitoanj, ioan tetzinpanvianj: auh qujlmach injn machiotl, iehoatl itonal in quetzalcoatl: ipampa in tlatoque, in pipilti, vncan mixtlaoaia ioan tlamanaia.

I 787 The day sign One Reed set in. With it were reckoned the evil days, those of an unfavorable time.
● 805 Following it came Two Ocelot, and Three Eagle, Four Vulture, Five Motion, and Six Flint Knife. These various days were said to be evil, of an unfavorable time.

Moquetza ce acatl tonalli, ic mocempoa in amo qualli, in amo ieccan izquijlhujtl,

qujtoqujlitica yn jpan vme ocelutl, ioan ei quauhtli, navi cuecaquauhtli, macujlli olin, chiquacen tecpatl: in jzqujtetl in tonalli mjtoaia amo qualli, amo ieccan,

I 787 It was held that One Reed was the day sign, the time, of Quetzalcoatl. For Quetzalcoatl represented the wind, and was therefore thought a god. And when the day One Reed set in, the lords and noblemen paid him great honors. They made offerings at the priests' house in the [barrio] known as Mexico.[1] For there was kept the image of Quetzalcoatl. Before him they arranged and spread offerings. Everything they then prepared for him. They placed on him his various array and paper vestments. And before him they laid out flowers, tobacco, [vessels] full of incense, and drink and food. So they said that then they dedicated and assigned the day sign to Quetzalcoatl.

qujlmach itonal catca itonalpan in quetzalcoatl. Iehica in quetzalcoatl, i ehecatl ipan mjxeoaia, injc teveocnia: auh in jquac in moquetzaia ce acatl tonalli, cenca tlamavizziliaia in tlatoque, in pipilti, tlamanaia in calmecac, yn jtocaiocan mexico, ca vncan pialoia in jxiptla Quetzalcoatl, ixpan qujtlatequjliaia, qujtlamâmacaia much iquac qujcencaviliaia, itech qujtlaliliaia, in jzqujtlamantli inechichioal, yn iamatlatquj, ioan ixpan qujtequjliaia suchitl, yetl, qujcopaltemjliaia atl, tlaqualli, qujmanjlia, iuh qujtoaia vncan qujtonalitia, qujtonalquechia in Quetzalcoatl.

K 787 And so they said it was an unfortunate time. He who was then born, whether nobleman or commoner, was of scant merit or deserts. Just as worthless as the wind was his life. It was swept away by the wind. As nothing were his lineage and origin. For in the time of Quetzalcoatl the wind [god] had he been born; for such was his nature. The same befell her if it was a woman.

Auh injc mjtoa: amo ieccan, in aqujn ipan tlacatia pilli, anoço macoxalli, atle cenca imâceoal, ilhujl catca, çan iuhqujn ehecatl ipã povia inemiliz, ẽcatocoia, atle itlaanca, inelhoaio mochioaia: ipampa in jtonalpan quetzalcoatl, ẽcatl otlacat, ca njman iuhcan oquia, no iuhquj ipan muchioaia, intla çioatl,

1. The *calmecac*, house of priestly learning, is dubbed as "*Lugar de Templo de la casa y escuela de nobles*" by Arturo Monzón in *El calpulli en la organización social de los tenochca* (México: Instituto de Historia, 1949), p. 77. There were six, in the *noble calpulli*, probably pertaining to clans (as the term is used by Monzón): Yopico, Huitznahuac, Tlamatzinco, Tlillancalco, Tolantzinco, and Mexico (pp. 47-53).

X-787 And one then born they hence regarded as fortunate and said that he would be rich. Our lord would reward him; through his grace he would buy slaves and ceremonially bathe them for sacrifice. Or many times he would have others sing and dance.

[553] And[5] when they gave him a name, they arranged it for Four Reed. Then they gave food to the young boys and had them perform the naming ceremony.[6]

[633] This was because that time was the time of the election rites, of the election of the rulers of the cities.

231 And also it was said that on One Dog the owners and breeders of dogs rubbed ochre on all the dogs' heads.[6]

● 805 And [the day signs] which followed it were Two Monkey, and Three Grass, Four Reed, Five Ocelot, Six Eagle, Seven Vulture, Eight Motion, Nine Flint Knife,[7] Ten Rain, Eleven Flower, Twelve Crocodile, Thirteen Wind. These were all the group of day signs.

660 All were as in their account, as mentioned. Each day went related as to the manner of gifts of those then born. This is already explained; in many places hath it been made quite apparent. And when [these had] ended, thereupon set in —

auh in aquin ipan tlacatia, injc qujtonalittaia, qujtouia: mocujltonoz, ipal iez, qujtlamaujçalhujx in tosecujoc, aço tecoaz, tealtix, aço quexquipa cujcujcaz tlaçotix: uh inic qujtocamacaia, quin no ipan qujmattiuja in nacacatl, iquac qujtlatlaqualiaia, qujxicvenquaqualiaia in pipiltotonti: ipampa in vncan motlatocapaca, in netlatocapacaian tlatoque, altepetle.

No ioan mjtoa: in jpan in ce itzcujntli, in jxqujchtin chichime, quinquatlaviaia in itzcujneque, in jtzcujnnemjoque.

Auh in qujtoqujlia vme oçomatli, ioan ey malinalli, navi acatl, macujlli oçelotl, chiquacen quiauhtli, chicome cozcaquauhtli, chicuei olin, chicunauj tecpac, matlactli qujauitl, matlactlioce xuchitl, matlactliomome cipactli, matlactli vmei hecatl, in jxqujtetl in cencalpā tonalli,

ça ie much iuhquj in jtoloca omoteneuh, injc cecemjlhujpā tlapoaltitiuh, in quenamj innenemac ipan tlacati, ie omomelauh mjieccan vel omonenexti: auh in jquac onquiz in njman ic oalmoquetza.

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4. *Dir.* and is immediate.

5. See Chapter 9, n. 1.

6. Corresponding Spanish text: "*Tambien ponjan sus nombres: que en este signo, los que ofrecian los ganados, que llaman dones: los despues que los cobraban.*"

7. *Tecpatl* omitted in manus.

574 357 Poised and prepared were the tobacco servers, who provided tobacco; the flower servers, who provided flowers; the servers, those who changed the servings; the beaters. Then there was the chocolate drink maker, who prepared chocolate; who made it foam and froth; and the server of chocolate. Then there were the attendants, those who greeted the guests.

574 But among those who were only commoners, among the poor folk, among the workers of the fields and the water folk, it is already told, only miserably, in poverty and want, were receptions and invitations made. Not as much was offered one as was required and customary; as was possible or of one's capability. Many things were omitted or spoiled. Thus [the feast] was a failure and fruitless when someone received or realized nothing more. Perhaps only old, withered flowers could he find or come by; perhaps only leftover, bitter sauces, and stale tamales and tortillas were offered them.

And if one had been sitting to no purpose and in vain, [he was] only forgotten there for a long time, for a considerable time. And when he grew tired of waiting, he only continued vexing himself, anxious to go, no longer able to endure it, continuing to stir, unable to sit anywhere. His seat was benumbed, stiffened, tired of sitting. So he leaped up, sprang to his feet, and ran off discontented; because perhaps whatever was served had come to an end; the banqueting had increased and grown in numbers, and become crowded. And he simply entered various houses and visited different places, begging and asking alms at each one, etc.

X 787 ● 805 In this place is only mentioned Two Vulture, which followed and came in second place after One Eagle. All these, the companion day signs in the series, have been chronicled and mentioned here. Of this, Two Vulture, there is no more need to relate anything, just to please; to invent, arrange, and contemplate some brief words. For already hath been mentioned the manner of the separate accounts of all day signs in the second [position]. For indeed all are similar as they proceed and go together there. Similar are their accounts as they advance in order, as all the days accompany one another.

805 So here we have only added and mentioned as a group the different day signs, which went in their courses as a series, as each day went traveling, following along, and changing: Three Motion, Four Flint

ic vncan ie ic ihcac ya tepiemacac in teyiti, in tezcchimacac, in tezcchiti, tetlumacac, tetlumaxtili, tlanapaloque, nimã ic ichoatl ya achiuhque, ẽpuenque, tlaxaxoqui, tlaxaxiuhtj, yoan in tezcacac, nimã ixcuan in tochiuque, in tetlalique.

auh in çan macoxalpã, in çan jcnotlacapã, nallacapã, atlacapan, ic omjxo çan cococatzi, icnoteicaiotica, in tetlacamacho, in tecuxxotzalo, axno cenca ommotion ya juh mouequj, in ic ivi, in ic vel ivi, in ic tewili, mjec tlamantli mjecaoa, ytlacavi, ic tlatlacavi, tlatlatlacavi, ya aca aoc tle ipan aci, aoc tle ipan mopoa, aço ça zuchiçalli, tlacavilli ya ipanti, in quipantilia, ya ipã mopoa, yoian aço ça mollacaxalli, molchichictli, tamalçolli, tlaxcalçolli, yn nemaquililo,

auh inela ça oc nẽ tlalilo, nenpanecatlalilo, vecaltica, ieoatica, çan vncã yicacalo: auh ya ẽmopetlac, ça motetextica, yiollo cholotica, injc itic, axcmo ontlaicoa mocuepitinemj, achcan vel motlalia, itzintepitzquẽquanlitli, quẽquanlitotica, tzintepitzquẽquanlitica, ic cholocoa, moquetzcoa, motlacallalia, ypampa aço otlatlacan, acaçoc tlẽ tzmacoxi, ommjquiz, ommacat, ommoquequex in tlacamotzalli, yoan in çan cacalacqui, tetlatlapalo, motlatlaiehui, motlatlaiehuj. ec.

Nican ça ommotenehua in vme cencaquanhtli, in centoquilia, in conoscaiotia oc quanhtli, ya juquich in, ic omotlatlatollotj nican ommotenehuh, ynjc cencalpan tlavica tonalli, yn ichoatl y, 2. centzquanhtli, axcmo monequj ya itla ic motlacotlotiz, in ça ommoqualiztac, ommoveliztac, ommopipiçaia, ommoveveltaliz, itlatlatolotzatzi, ca ic ommotenehuh in quenamj ixtlãtzatollo ixquich ẽvme tonalli, ca çan ic zmach iuhquj, çan zmach vmpa itztivi, çan zmach vmpa tlavica, çan ic otlecti yn imixtolocaz; yn juh tenepantivi, ynjc tlavica cecemilhuitl,

ypampa in çi njcã, tiquimmotenpachoa, tiquimmotenehua yn izquiznac in tonalti, in njcã cencalpan tlatlatoctia, ynic cecemilhuitl motenhui, motequitivi, tzcpatlacvi, in ichoatl Ey olin, 4. tecpatl, 5. quj-

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Knife, Five Rain, Six Flower, Seven Crocodile, Eight Wind, Nine House, Ten Lizard, Eleven Serpent, Twelve Death, and Thirteen Deer.* When the day sign ended, then—

iuvitl, 6. xuchitl, 7. cipactli, 8. hecatl, 9. calli, 10. cuetzpalli, 11. coatl, 12. miquiztli, 13. mazatl. 11. 12. 13. yn ōtlan yn tonalli, ynma.

805

6. The figures "11. 12. 13." are part of an [illegible] note to chap.



[p. 126 is blank]

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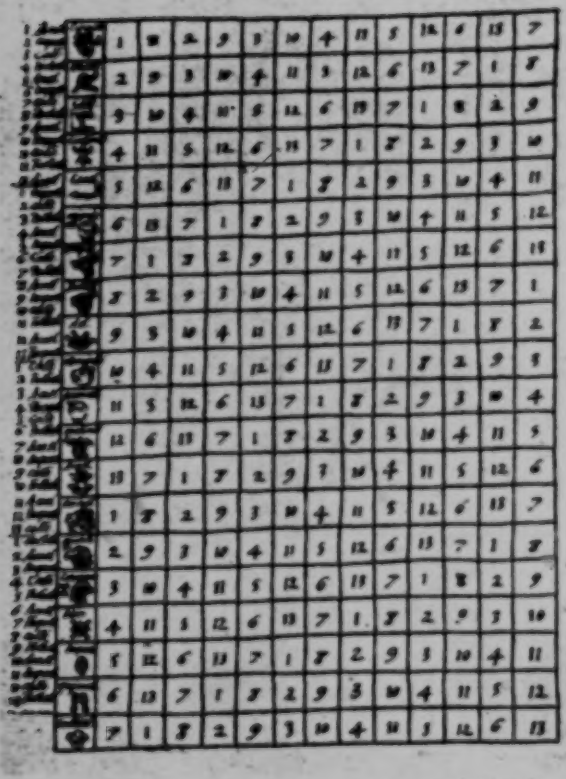

— After Paso y Troncoso

102. Place chart for reckoning the day sign count (Appendix).

[p. 126 g]

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— After Paso y Troncoso

101. First half of second sheet for reckoning the day signs anew (Appendix).

[p. 126 r]

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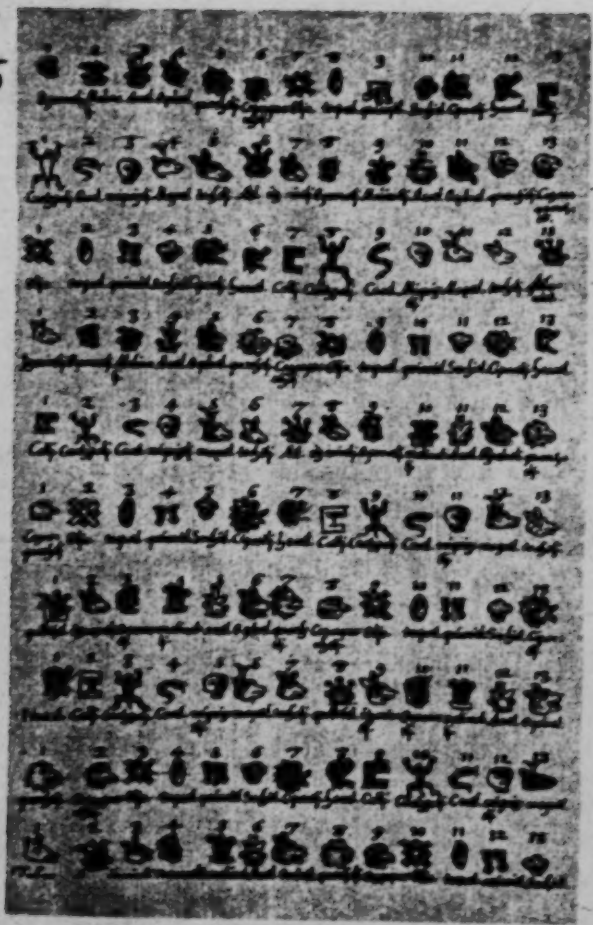

— After Paso y Troncoso

194. Second half of second sheet for reckoning the day sign count (Appendix).

[p. 126 s]

## APPENDIX OF THE FOURTH BOOK, IN THE SPANISH VERNACULAR, WHICH IS JUSTIFICATION IN DEFENSE OF THE TRUTH CONTAINED HEREIN.

## APENDIZ DEL QUARTO LIBRO EN ROMĀCE Y ES VNA APPOLOGIA EN DEFENSION DA LA VERDAD QUE EN EL SE CONTIENE.

805 Because some have been deceived, and the delusion even today endureth, concerning certain [systems of] counting which these natives used in days of old, I consider it helpful to place here an explanation of three kinds of counting [systems] which they used and in some places still use.

The first count is the division of the year into its months. The fact is that they divided the year into eighteen parts, and to each part they gave twenty days. These may be called months. Thus their year had eighteen months, which comprised three hundred and sixty days. The five left over to make a full year are not counted: rather, they called them idle [177] and unlucky days, because to no god were they dedicated. The purpose for which they established this division was that they dedicated each month or [period of] twenty days to a god, and during each they held celebrations and made sacrifices; except that in two of the months they celebrated the feasts of four gods, [in each] assigning ten days to one and another ten to the other. And so, although there were eighteen months, the feasts celebrated in them were twenty. This count is called a calendar in which all the days of the year are dedicated to the gods except the five which, as is told, they considered idle and of evil fortune. This count, which is the calendar these natives had had from time immemorial, has nothing to do with the other two counts which will now be described.

805 212 The second count which these natives used is called the year-count, because [by it] they counted a certain number of years in the following way. They had four characters placed in four positions with respect to a circle. One of these characters they called Ce acatl, meaning One Reed. This character was represented as a green reed, and, with reference to the circle, was to the east. The second character they called Ce tecpatl, meaning One Flint Knife. [It was] made in the manner of a lance head, half of it blood-stained. This was placed to the north with

Porque algunos se an engañado, y aun todavia dura el engaño, cerca de ciertas cuentas, que estos naturales vsauan antiguamente: tengo por cosa prouechosa poner aquj, la declaracion de tres maneras de cuentas, que vsauan, y avn en algunas partes las vsan.

Es la primera cuenta, la division del año por sus meses. Es el caso que ellos repartian el año, en deziocho partes, y a cada parte, le dauan veinte dias; estos se pordẽ llamar meses: de manera, que su año tenja deziocho meses: los quales contienen trezientos y setenta [*sic*] dias, y los cinco que sobran, para ser año cumplido, no entran en cuenta, sino llamauanlos dias baldios, y aziagos, porque a njngun dios eran dedicados. El fin a que enderecauan [*sic*] esta diujsion es, que cada mes o cada veinte dias, los dedicauan a un dios, y en ellos le hazian fiestas, y sacrificios, excepto que en dos meses hazian fiesta a quatro dioses, dedicando diez dias a al vno, y otros diez al otro. Y assi con ser los meses deziocho, las fiestas que celebrauan en ellos eran veinte. Esta cuenta, se llama calendario, donde todos los dias del año, se dedican a los dioses, excepto los cinco que como esta dicho los tenjan baldios y aziagos. Esta cuenta, que es el calendario que estos naturales tenjan de tiempo sin memoria, no tiene que hazer, con las otras dos cuentas, que luego se dirá.

La segunda cuenta que estos naturales vsauan, se llama cuenta de los años, porque contauan cierto numero de años, por la forma que se sigue: tenjan quatro caracteres, puestos en quatro partes en respecto de vn circulo redondo. A al vno destos caracteres llamauã, Ce acatl, que quiere dezir, vna caña: este caracter, era como vna caña verde pintada, y en respecto del circulo, estaua hazia al oriente. Al segundo caracter, llamauan ce tecpatl, que quiere dezir vn pedernal: hecho a manera de hierro de lança tiñjdo la mjtad del con sangre: este estaua puesto

805 reference to the circle. The third character was the
212 representation of a house, which they call Ce calli [One House]. It is placed to the west with reference to the circle. The fourth character is the likeness of a rabbit, which they call Ce tochtli [One Rabbit]; it is placed to the south with reference to the circle. By means of these characters they counted fifty-two years, assigning thirteen years to each character. And they counted in this manner, One Reed, Two Flint Knife, Three House, Four Rabbit, and so on, so describing circles by means of these characters, until each one attained thirteen years. These, altogether,
805 make up four times thirteen and equal fifty-two
796 years. The purpose or intention of this count is to renew, every fifty-two years, the covenant, contract,
372 or vow, to serve the idols. Because at the end of the
x787 fifty-two-year [cycle] they observed a very solemn feast and made new fire, and extinguished all the old [fires]. And all the provinces of this New Spain took of this new fire. Then they renewed all the statues of the idols and all of their adornment, as well as the intention of serving them for the next fifty-two years. And also they had a prophecy or oracle of the devil that at [the end of] one of these periods the world would come to an end.

805 The third count which these natives used was the
212 art of divination of the fortune or luck which those
x787 born would have, whether men or women. It was done in this way. They had twenty characters. The first they named Crocodile, the second Wind, the third House, the fourth Lizard, the fifth Serpent, etc., up to twenty, as is represented in the chart at the end of this Appendix.* They said that each of these characters reigned thirteen days, so that all together are two hundred and [sixty] days. Some say that these thirteen-day [periods] are weeks of the month, but this is not so. Rather they are the number of days in which the sign or character reigneth. The weeks of the month are of five days,
[443] and so these are, in each month, four weeks; and the *tianquizti*, or markets, are fixed according to this number of days, or used to be so fixed. So that by periods of five days they established the markets or fairs. And so they had no weeks [of seven days], but rather periods of five days. And nowadays, in many places, they set the markets and fairs according to our seven-day weeks. In this illicit soothsaying

* See Plates 102-104.

hazia la parte del septendrion en respecto del circulo. El tercero caracter era vna pintada que ellos llamaan ce calli, esta puesta hazia la parte del occidente, en respecto del circulo. El quarto caracter es la semejança de vn conejo que ellos llamaan ce tochtli: esta puesto hazia la parte del medio dia, en respecto del circulo: contauan por estos caracteres cincuenta y dos años, dando a cada vno de los caracteres trese años, y contauan desta manera, ce acatl, vme tecpatl, ei calli, navi tochtli, y assi dando buelttas, por estos caracteres, hasta que en cada vno se cumpliessen trese años, los quales todos juntos, son quatro veses trese que hazen cincuenta y dos años: el fin o intencion desta cuenta es, renouar cada cincuenta y dos años, el pacto, o concierto, o juramento de servir a los idolos. Porque en el fin de los cincuenta y dos años, hazian vna muy solemne fiesta, y nouaan fuego nuevo, y apagauan todo lo viejo y tomauan todas las prouincias desta nueua españa fuego nuevo; entonce renouauan todas las estatuas de los idolos y todos sus alhajas, y el proposito de seruirlos otros cincuenta i dos años. Y tambien tenjan profecia o oraculo del demonjo, que en vno destos periodos se auja de acabar el mundo.

La tercera cuenta que estos naturales vsauan, era el arte para adiujnar la fortuna o ventura, que tendrian los que nacian hombres y mugeres. Era desta manera que tenjan viente caracteres: al primero llamauan cipactli, el segundo hecatl, el tercero calli, el quarto cuetzpali, el quinto coatl. &c. hasta viente como esta pintado en la figura, que esta al fin deste apēdix: decian que cada vno destos caracteres, reinaua ,trese dias, que todos juntos son docientos y sesenta [sic] dias. Algunos dicen que estos trese dias son semanas del mes y no es assi sino numero de dias en que reina el signo o caracter: las semanas de los meses son cinco dias y assi sy en cada mes quatro semanas y los tianquez, o mercados por este numero de dias se señalla, [sic] o solian señallarse, que de cinco en cinco dias hechauā los mercados, o ferias, y assi no tenjan semana, sino quintana, y agora en muchas partes hechan los mercados y ferias por nuestra semana de siete en siete dias. En esta cuenta adiujnatoria i no licita entrepusieron los caragueres de la cuenta de los años; conviene a saber, aquellos quatro caracteres de que arriba se hizo mencion, que es tuda,

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count are interspersed the characters of the year-count; that is, those four characters mentioned above, which are Reed, Flint Knife, House, and Rabbit, by which they counted the hebdomad of their years, which is fifty-two.

This very pernicious count, superstitious, and full of idolatry, as is to be seen in this Fourth Book, some praise highly, saying that it was very ingenious and contained no blemish. This they said because they did not understand for what purpose this count, which is very evil and idolatrous, was established. Little did they appreciate the multitude of superstitions, feasts, and idolatrous sacrifices involved in it. And they called this count the calendar of the Indians, not understanding that this count doth not extend through all of the year; because it hath only two hundred and sixty days in its round, and then cometh back to its beginning. And so it cannot be and never was a calendar; for the calendar, as hath been said, is represented in the opening of the Second Book, and containeth all the days of the year, and [all] the feasts of the year. And this they who say that this soothsaying art is a calendar, do not know. And surely it was great carelessness and culpable ignorance to praise by word of mouth and in writing something so evil and full of idolatry.

The zeal for truth and for the Catholic Faith compels me to place here the very words of a treatise which a member of one of the religious Orders wrote in praise of this art of soothsaying, declaring that it is a calendar; so that wherever one may see it, he may know that it is something very pernicious to our holy Catholic Faith; and it may be destroyed and burned.

The following is the introduction of the above-mentioned treatise.

**Introduction and explanation, newly made, of the calendar of the Indians of Anauac, that is, of New Spain.**

By means of the wheels reproduced above, the Indians count their days, weeks, months, years, olympiads, five-year periods, indictions, and hebdomads, starting their year, like ours, with the beginning of January. In [their system] are found the means of reckoning time which all nations have had. And as is seen, the Indians who established and knew it well certainly showed themselves to be natural philosophers. They were at fault only as to the leap year.

pedernal, casa, conejo, por donde contauan la hebdomada de sus años, que son cincuenta y dos.

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Esta cuenta muy perjudicial, y muy supersticiosa, y muy llena de idolatria, como parece en este libro quarto, algunos la alaban mucho: diziendo, que era muy ingeniosa y que ninguna mancha tenia, esto dizeró por no entender a que fin se endereza, esta cuenta el qual es muy malo ydolatrico de poco entendieron la muchedumbre de supersticiones y fiestas y sacrificios idolatricos, que en ella se contienen, y llamaron a esta cuenta, el calendario de los indios: no entendiendo que esta cuenta no alcança a todo el año, porque no tiene mas doscientos y sesenta dias de circulo, y luego torna a su principio, y assi no puede ser calendario y ni nunca lo fue, porque el calendario, como está dicho, y esta pintado, en el principio del segundo libro, contiene todos los dias del año, y las fiestas del año: y esto ignoraron los que dizen que esta arte adiujnatoria es calendario: y cierto fue grande inadvertencia, y culpable ignorancia loar por palabra, y por escrito vna cosa tan mala y tan llena de idolatria.

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El zelo de la verdad, y de la fe catholica, me compele a poner aquí, las mismas palabras de vn tratado, que vn religioso escriuio en loor desta arte adiujnatoria; diziendo que es calendario, para que dondequiera que alguno le viere, sepa que es cosa muy perjudicial, a nuestra santa fe catholica, y sea destruydo, y quemado.

Siguese la introducion del tractado sobredicho.

**Introducion, i declaracion nuevamente sacada, que es el calendario de los indios de Anauac, esto es de la nueua españa.**

Por las ruedas aquí sobrepuestas, cuentan los indios sus dias, semanas, meses, años, olimpiadas lustros indiciones, y hebdomadas: començando su año, con el nuestro desde el principio de henero: en la qual se hallan las maneras de contar los tiempos que tuuieron todas las naciones, y segun parece los indios que la compusieron, y sabian bien, ciertamente se mostraron philiosophos naturales, solamente faltaron en el bisiesto: pero tambien paso el gran philosopho

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But this was the case also as to the great philosopher Aristotle and his teacher Plato, and many other wise men who did not attain [knowledge of] it. And it should be known that in this calendar there is nothing idolatrous; and this is praiseworthy for many reasons, but to mention one will be enough. And it is that in this land it was not very many years ago that idolatry began. And this calendar is exceedingly ancient, and if the names of the days, weeks, and years, and their representations, are of animals and beasts, and other creatures, it is nothing to wonder at; for if we look at ours, they also are of planets and of gods which the pagans had. Even if many rites, falsehoods, and ancient sacrifices are written of here [in connection with] a thing so good, of such excellence and truth as these natives possessed, there is no reason to condemn it. For we know that all good and truth, no matter who expresseth it, is of the Holy Ghost.

Aristotiles, y su maestro Platon, y otros muchos sabios que no lo alcançaron. Y es de saber, que en este calendario, no ay cosa de idolatria: y esto se puede de alabar, por muchas razones, pero bastara dezir vna: y es que en esta tierra no ha muy muchos años, que començaron las idolatrias: y este calendario es antiquissimo y si los nombres de los dias, semanas, y años, y sus figuras, son de animales, y de bestias, y de otras criaturas; no se deuen marauillar, pues si mirasmos los nuestros: tambien son de planetas, y de dioses que los gentiles tuuieron: y pues que aqui se escriuen muchos ritos, ficciones, y antiguos sacrificios, vna cosa tan buena, y de tanto primor, y verdadera que estos naturales tuuieron: no es razon de reprobarla: pues sabemos que todo bien y verdad, quienquiera que la diga, es del espiritu santo.

### Refutation of the above[1]

As to what he first saith, that by means of this count the Indians reckoned [their] weeks, months, and years: this is most false. For this count containeth only two hundred and sixty days, and lacketh one hundred and five days to be the count of an entire year. Neither did they reckon their months by this count, because their months are eighteen in a year, and each one hath twenty days, which maketh three hundred and sixty days. This count doth not reach that number. Neither, do they reckon their weeks by this count; for what they say, that they had thirteen days in a week, is false, because thus there would be a week of thirteen days and another week [which] would go into the next month with three days,[2] and so no month would have two entire weeks. But more important, their weeks were of five days, which were better called five-day periods than weeks, and there are in each month four of these five-day periods.

What he saith of olympiads, five-year periods, indictions, and the like, is false and pure invention.

What he saith, that the year started in January, like ours, is most incorrect; for what they call a year by this count is of only two hundred and sixty days,

### Confutacion de lo arriba dicho.

En lo primero que dize, que por esta cuenta[1] los indios contauan sus [sic] semanas, meses, y años, es falsissimo: porque esta cuenta no contiene mas de ciento y sesenta dias, y faltale ciento y cinco dias, para ser cuenta de vn año entero; ni tampoco contauan sus meses por esta cuenta, porque sus meses son dezisocho en vn año, y cada vno tiene veinte dias que son trezientos y sesenta dias; al qual numero, no llega esta cuenta; ni tampoco contauan, por esta cuenta sus semanas, porque aquello que dizen, que tenjan trese dias por semana es falso, porque desta manera seria vna semana de trese dias, y otra semana entraria con tres dias en el mes siguiente, y assi cada mes no tendria dos semanas enteras: mayormente, que sus semanas eran de cinco dias las quales mejor se llamaron quintenas, que no semanas, y ay en cada mes quatro destas quintenas.

Lo que dize de Olimpiadas, y bustros, y indictiones o la mesma razon es falso, y mera ficcion.

Lo que dize, que el año, començauan [sic] en Enero, como el nuestro, es falsissimo: porque lo que llaman vn año por esta cuenta no son mas docientos y sesenta

1. On the controversy between Sahagún and Mendieta regarding the nature of the calendar, see L. Nicolau d'Olwer: *Fray Toribio de Benavente (Motolinía)*: Publicaciones de la Museo Español (Oficina: Ediciones de la Universidad Nacional Autónoma, 1950), pp. 139-151.

2. Sahagún (Bustley ed.), IV, Ap. G, [illegible] *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 613, defines *cuenta*, as used in Cuba, by saying "Dizen . . . de cualquier numero del diez."

and of necessity it would have to end one hundred and five days before our year. And so it could not start with our year, except with some, and very rarely.

As to what he saith, that the Indians [who] devised this count showed themselves to be natural philosophers: this is most false. For they do not carry out this count according to any natural order; for it was an invention of the devil and an act of soothsaying.

As to what he saith, that they lacked the leap year, it is wrong; because in the count which may be called a true calendar they count three hundred and sixty-five days, and once every four years they counted three hundred and sixty-six days with a feast which for this reason they observed every four years.

As to what he saith, that in this calendar there is no idolatry, it is a very great lie. For it is no calendar but a soothsaying device in which are contained a great deal of idolatry, many superstitions, and many invocations to the demons, tacitly and openly, as is shown in all of this preceding Fourth Book. So that the treatise above mentioned, which that member of a religious Order wrote, containeth no truth but rather very pernicious error and falsehood.

### The treatise by that member of a religious Order proceedeth.

The Indians who well understood the secrets of these wheels and calendar showed and explained them to but few, because through their knowledge they gained their livelihood and were held in esteem and considered wise and intelligent. Nevertheless, almost all adult Indians knew and were informed about the year, as to both the number and house in which they were. But of the names of the days and weeks, and many other secrets and counts which they possessed, only those masters who worked with them attained knowledge.

Now, in order to understand the count which these natives had, in order to know how they kept a time-count by means of the wheels and figures here recorded, rules are given. These are written below.

### Refutation of the above.

It is already said that the calendar is different from this count and hath nothing in common with it. The calendar dealeth with the months of the whole year, the days of the whole year, the weeks of the

días, y de necesidad se avía de acabar ciento y cinco días, antes de nuestro año: y así no podía començar con el nuestro año, si no algunas y muy raro:

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en lo que dize que los indios se compusiero desta cuenta, se mostraron philosophos naturales, es falsíssimo: porque esta cuenta, no le llevan por ninguna orden natural: porque fue invencion del demonjo, y arte de adivinacion,

en lo que dize que faltaron en el bisesto es falso, porque en la cuenta que se llama, calendario verdadero, cuentan trescientos y sesenta y cinco días, y cada quatro años, contavan trescientos, y sesenta y seis días en fiesta, que para esto hazian de quatro en quatro años.

En lo que dize que en este calendario no ay cosa de idolatria, es falsíssima mētira: porque no es calendario, sino arte adivinatoria, donde se contienen, muchas cosas de idolatria, y muchas supersticiones, y muchas invocaciones de los demonjos, tacita, y expressamente, como parece en todo este quarto libro precedente: de manera que ninguna verdad contiene aquel tratado arriba puesto: que aquel religioso escrivjo, mas antes cōtiene falsedad y mentira muy pernjciosa.

### Siguese adelante en el tratado de aquel religioso.

Los indios, que bien entendian los secretos destas ruedas, y calendario, no los enseñavan, ni descubrian, sino a muy pocos, porque por ello ganavan de comer, y eran estimados, y tenjdos por hombres sabios, y entendidos, empero sabian casi todos los indios adultos y tenjan noticia del año, assi del numero como de la casa en que andavan: mas de los nombres de los días, y semanas, y otros muchos secretos, y cuentas que tenjan: solos aquellos maestros compotistas, lo alcançavan de saber.

Agora para entender la cuenta, que estos naturales tenjan, y para saber, como contavan los tiempos: por las ruedas, y figuras aquj escritas: se ponen reglas, que son las infra escritas.

### Confutacion de lo arriba dicho.

Ya esta dicho, que el calendario es distincto desta cuenta, y no tiene nada que ver con ella. Y el calendario trata de los meses de todo el año, y de los días de todo el año, y de las semanas de todo el año, y de las

805 114 whole year, and the fixed feasts of the whole year. All the priests and servants of the idols knew it, as well as many of the populace, because it is a simple matter which toucheth all. But the count of the soothsaying art, which he wrongly calleth a calendar, is a particular kind of count, because its purpose was established to foretell circumstances and events to befall those born under each sign or character. This count only the soothsayers and those who had the skill to learn it, knew; because it containeth many difficulties and obscurities. Those who knew this count they called *tonalpouhque;* they esteemed and honored them greatly. They considered them to be prophets and knowers of future things. Hence they depended upon them for many things, as in days of old the sons of Israel depended upon the prophets.

This [author] saith that the months are twenty in a year. This is not true, for there are only eighteen. Likewise he saith that the weeks are of thirteen days, and this is not true, for they are of only five days, so that there are four weeks or rather five-day periods in a month. The thirteen days which he wrongly calleth a week are only the number of days in which each of the twenty characters in this soothsaying art reigned, as is made clear in the preceding Fourth Book, which dealeth with this soothsaying art.

The chart and [explanation of] the manner of counting used by the soothsayers for this art, now follow.

**To the reader.**

805 This chart before the friendly reader is the count of the characters or signs with which we have dealt in this Fourth Book. It proceedeth in this order. First are placed twenty characters, and by them their names; and after them are placed the days over which they reign, in numerical notation; and it beginneth one, two, three, etc. The character by or facing the number one reigneth over those thirteen days [beginning with it], and the counting is started from above to below. Reaching thirteen, one then returneth to the number one, and the character before which that number one standeth, reigneth during the thirteen following days. And so with all the remaining numbers and characters. So each one of the characters cometh to reign for thirteen days, and the number of all of these days is two hundred and sixty. From there it returneth again to the beginning.

fiestas fixas de todo el año: sabianle todos los sacerdotes, y todos los mayordomos de los idolos, y mucha de la otra gente popular, porque es cosa facil, y toca a todos. Empero la cuenta de la arte adiuinatoria, a la qual falsamente llama calendario, es cuenta por si, porque su fin, se enderesa a adiuinar las condiciones, y sucessos de los que nacen en cada signo, o caracter; esta cuenta sabianla solamẽte los adiuinos, y los que tenian abilidad, para deprenderla porque contiene muchas dificultades, y obscuridades: y a estos que sabiã esta cuenta, llamauanlos Tonalpouhque y tenianlos en mucho y honrrauanlos mucho: tenianlos como prophetas, y sabidores de las cosas futuras, y assi acudian a ellos, en muchas cosas, como antiguamente los hijos de Israel, acudian a los prophetas,

dize este; que los meses, son viente en vn año, y no es verdad, porque no son mas de deziocho: dize assimismo que las semanas, son de trese dias, y no es verdad: porque no son mas de a cinco dias, y assi son quatro semanas o por mejor dezir quintanas en vn mes: los trese dias, a que falsamente llama semana, no son, sino el numero de dias, que reynaua cada vno de los veinte caracteres, desta arte adiuinatoria, como esta claro, en el quarto libro precedente, que tracta desta arte adiuinatoria.

Siguese la tabla y manera de contar que tenjan los adiuinos en esta arte.

**Al lector.**

Esta tabla, que esta frontera Amigo lector, es la cuenta de los caracteres, o signos de que en este quarto libro auemos tractado, la qual procede por esta orden, que primeramente se ponen viente caracteres, y junto a ellos sus nombres, y despues dellos se ponen los dias, en que reinan por cifras del aiguarismo: y comjença, vno, dos, tres, &c. El caracter donde esta junto el vno o frontero del, es el que reina aquellos trese dias, y comjençase a contar desde arriba hazia abaxo: y llegando a trese luego buelue a vno, y el caracter en frente de quien esta aquel vno, es el que reina los trese dias que se siguen: y assi de todos los demas numeros y caracteres. De manera, que cada vn caracter viene a reinar trese dias, y el numero de todos estos dias son dozientos y sesenta, y de alli buelue otra vez al principio.

3. See Plate 142.

1 [See p. 126a, cat. 116. – Analyst] 142

Also at the opening of this count is placed the manner of counting the years, because these two counts are linked or matched.

**How followeth the reckoning of all the time-counts which these natives had.**

The longest time-count which they reckoned was up to one hundred and four years. And this count they called a century.

Half of this count, fifty-two years, they called a bundle of years. This period of years they had reckoned from times past; it is not known when it began. But they considered it well established and a matter of belief that the world would come to an end at the conclusion of one of these bundles of years. They had a prophecy or oracle that at that time the movement of the heavens would cease, and they took as a sign [of this] the movement of the Pleiades. On the night of this feast, which they called Toxiuuolpilia [the Binding of the Years], it so befell that the Pleiades were at the zenith at midnight, with respect to the horizon in Mexico. On this night they made new fire, and before they made it, they extinguished all the fires in all the provinces, towns, and houses in all of this New Spain. And they went in a great and solemn procession. All of the priests and servants of the temple departed from here, the Temple of Mexico, during the first quarter of the night, and went to the summit of that mountain near Itztapalapan which they call Uixachtecatl. They reached the summit at midnight, or almost, where stood a great pyramid built for that ceremony. Having reached there, they looked at the Pleiades to see if they were at the zenith, and if they were not, they waited until they were. And when they saw that now they passed the zenith, they knew that the movement of the heavens had not ceased and that the end of the world was not then, but that they would have another fifty-two years, assured that the world would not come to an end.

At this hour a great multitude of people was on the mountains surrounding this province of Mexico — Texcoco, Xochimilco, and Quauhtitlan — waiting to see the new fire, which was a signal that the world would continue. And when the priests made the fire, with great ceremony, upon the pyramid on that mountain, then it was seen from all the surrounding

También en el principio desta cuenta se pone la manera de contar de los años, porque estas dos cuentas andi vinculadas o pareadas.

**La cuenta de todos los tiempos, que tenjan estos naturales, en la que se sigue.**

La mayor cuenta de tiempo, que contauan era hasta ciento y quatro años, y a esta cuenta llamauan vn siglo,

a la mitad desta cuenta, que son cincuenta y dos años llamauan vna gauilla de años, este tiempo de años, trayanla ab antiquo contados, no se sabe quando començaó: pero tenjan por muy asegurado, y como de fe, que el mundo se auja de acabar en el fin de vna destas gauillas de años: y tenjan pronostico o oraculo, que entonce auia de cesar el moujmjento de los cielos, y tomauan por señal al moujmjento de las cabrillas: la noche desta fiesta, que ellos llamauan Toxiuuolpilia: de tal manera caya que las cabrillas, estauan en medio del cielo: a la media noche, en respecto deste orizonte mexicano. En esta noche sacauan fuego nuevo, y primero que los sacasen, apagauan todo el fuego, en todas las prouincias, pueblos, y casas de toda esta nueua españa: y iban con gran procession, y solemnidad. Todos los sacrapas, y mjnjstros del templo: partian daquj del templo de mexico, a prima noche: y iban hasta la cumbre de aquel cerro, que esta cabe Itztapalapan: que ellos llamau Vitzachtecatl, y llegauan a la cumbre a la media noche, o casi, donde estaua vn solemne cu, edificado para aquella ceremonja. Llegados allj, mjrauan a las cabrillas; si estauan en el medio, y si no estauan esperauan hasta que llegasen. Y quando vian, que ya passauan del medio, entendian que el moujmjento del cielo no cesaua, y que no era allj el fin del mundo, sino que auian de tener otros cincuenta y dos años, seguros, que no se acabaria el mundo.

En esta hora estauan en los cerros circunstantes que cercan a toda esta prouincja de mexico, Texcuco, y Suchimjlco y quauhtitlan, gran cantidad de gente, esperando a ver el fuego nuevo; que era señal, que el mundo iba adelante, y como sacauan el fuego, los sacrapas, con gran ceremonja, en el cu de aquel cerro: luego se parecia, en todo lo circunstante de los cerros:

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796 mountains. Those who were there watching then raised a cry which rose to the heavens with joy that
372 the world was not ending and that they had another fifty-two years assured.

The last ceremony of new fire which they held was in the year 1507. They held it with full solemnity, because the Spaniards had not come to this land. In the year 1559 ended the next bundle of years, which they call Toximmolpilia. On this occasion they held no public ceremony, because the Spaniards and members of the religious Orders were now in this land. So that this year, 1576, is the fifteenth of the current bundle of years.

796 When they made the new fire and held this cere-
778 mony, they renewed their covenant with the devil to serve him, and they renovated all the statues of the devil which they had in his house, and all the ornaments for his service, and those of their houses. And they rejoiced greatly to know that now they held the world to be secure and that it would not come to an end for fifty-two years. It is clear that this device of counting years was an invention of the devil to make them renew the covenant which they made with him every fifty-two years—[the devil] terrifying them with [the threat of] the end of the world and making them think that he lengthened the time and favored them thereby, letting the world move on.

796 Besides this they held, every eight years, a fast on
785 bread and water, for eight days; and at its conclusion they celebrated a feast in which they held a solemn dance by various personages, in which they said that they revealed what would come to pass or what fortune they merited; and they called it Atamalquahuiztli.

796 They observed another feast every four years, in
304 honor of the fire [god], during which they pierced the ears of all the boys and girls; and they called it Pillauanaliztli. And during this feast it is likely, and
805 there are conjectures, that they held their leapyear, reckoning six [days] of Nemontemi.

805 The remaining time-count is of the year, which
796 they divided into eighteen months, to each of which they assigned twenty days. And each of these
443 months was dedicated to one god, or to two, and during it they held their feast. Each of these months they divided into five-day periods, and held the fairs on the last day of these five in one town, and five days later in another, and another five days later in

y los que estauan allí a la mira, leuantauan luego vn alarido que le ponjan en el cielo de alegría que el mundo no se acabaua y que tenjan otros cincuenta y dos años por ciertos.

La vltima solemnjdad, que hizieron deste fuego nueuo: fue el año de mill y quinjentos, y siete: hizieronle, con toda solemnjdad, porque no auian venjdo los españoles, a esta tierra: el año de mjll y quinjétos y cincuenta y nueue, se acabo la otra gabilla de años: que ellos llamau Toximmolpilia. En esta, no hizieron solemnjdad publica: porque ya los españoles, y religiosos estauan en esta tierra. De manera que este año de mjll y quinjentos y setenta y seis, anda en quinze años, de la gabilla de años que corre.

Quando sacauan fuego nueuo, y hazian esta solemnjdad, renouauan el pacto que tenjan con el demonjo de seruirle: y renouauan todas las estatuas del demonjo, que en su casa tenjan, y todas las alhajas de su seruicio, y las de sus casas: y hazian grandes alegrías, por saber, que ya tenjan el mundo seguro, que no se acabaria por cincuenta y dos años. Claramente consta, que este artificio de contar, fue inuencion del diablo, para hazerlos renouar el pacto que con el tenjan de cincuenta, en cincuenta y dos años: y amedrétandolos con la fin del mundo, y haziendolos entender, que el alargaua el tiempo y les hazian merced del passando el mundo adelãte.

Demas desta cuenta tenjan que de ocho en ocho años, hazian vn ayuno de pan y agua, por espacio de ocho dias, y hazian al cabo, vna fiesta donde hazian solemne areito de diuersos personajes; donde dezian, que descubrían ventura o que la merecian, y llamauanla Atamalcualiztli.

Otra fiesta hazian, de quatro en quatro años, a honrra del fuego, donde agujerauan las orejas a todos los niños, y niñas, y la llamauan pillauanaliztli. Y en esta fiesta es verisimjle, y ay conjecturas que hazíá su biesto, contando seis de nemontemj.

La otra cuenta del tiempo, es de vn año: el qual repartian en dezjocho meses, y a cada mes le dauan veinte dias: y cada vno destos meses, era dedicado a vno, o a dos dioses: y hazian en el sus fiestas, cada vno destos meses, le repartian de cinco in cinco dias, y hazian las ferias el vltimo dia, destos cinco, en vn pueblo: y desde a cinco dias en otro, y desde a otros cinco dias en otro. De manera que el quarto quin-

[still] another [town]: So that the fourth period of five days was the feast of the god who was honored in the following month. The five days in addition to the three hundred and sixty of the complete year they regarded as idle and unlucky, and so did not take account of them for any purpose. But they kept track of all the days and all the months of the year, and of all the five-day periods of the year, which are four in each month.

These natives had another count which followeth neither the year-count, nor the months, nor the five-day periods, which may wrongly be called weeks. This count hath twenty characters, as is represented in the chart behind this page.[1] To each one of these characters they assigned thirteen days, during which one of these characters reigned. Thus each one reigned thirteen days, and the round which these characters with their days made, is of two hundred and sixty days. This round includeth one hundred and five days less than a year. The count was used to foretell the circumstances and events of life which those born [on given day signs] would have. It is a difficult count, full of errors, and with no foundation of natural astrology. For the art of judiciary astrology, common among us, is founded upon natural astrology, which is in the signs and planets of the heavens and in their courses and aspects. But this art of soothsaying followeth, or is founded upon, some characters and numbers in which no natural foundation existeth, but [are] only an artifice made by the devil himself. Nor is it possible that any man could have made or invented this art. For it hath no foundation in any science nor in any natural order. Rather it appeareth to be a thing of fraud and deceit thus rational or ingenious. I say it was fraud and deceit in order to dazzle and derange people of low capacity and little understanding. Notwithstanding, this art of soothsaying, or rather, diabolical fraud or deceit, was highly regarded; and those who knew and practised it were also greatly honored and esteemed. For they told of things to come, and were regarded as truthful by the populace, although they spoke no truth except by accident and mistake. This art followeth neither years, nor months, nor weeks, nor five-year periods nor olympiads, as some, in their dreams, have said and erroneously affirmed.

1. See Plates 103 and 104.

tanario, era la fiesta del dios que se celebraua en el mes que se seguja: los cinco dias que son mas de los trezientos y sesenta de todo el año, tenjanlos por valdios, y haziagos: y assi no hazian cuenta dellos para njnguna cosa. Pero cuenta tenjan con todos los dias del año, y con todos los meses del año, y con todas las quintanas del año, que son quatro en cada mes.

Otra cuenta tenjan, este naturales que nj sigue la cuenta del año, nj de los meses, nj de las quintanas, que impropriamente se pueden dezir semanas. Esta cuenta, tiene viente caracteres, como esta pintado en la tabla, que esta detras desta hoja: a cada vno destos caracteres, atribuyan treze dias: en las quales reinaua uno destos caracteres: de manera que cada vno reinaua treze dias, y el circulo que estos caracteres con sus dias hazian, son duzientos y sesenta dias: el qual circulo, tiene ciento y cinco dias menos, que vn año. Esta cuenta se vsaua para adiujnar las condiciones, y sucesos de la vida, que tendrian los que naciessen. Es cuenta delicosa, y muy mentirosa, y sin njngun fundamento de astrologia natural. Porque el arte de la astrologia judiciaria, que entre nosotros se vsa, tiene fundamento en la astrologia natural, que es en los signos, y planetas del cielo, y en los cursar y aspectos dellos. Pero esta arte adiujnatoria siguese o fundase en vnos caracteres, y numeros, en que njngun fundamento natural ay, sino solamente artificio fabricado, por el mesmo diablo, nj es posible que njngun hombre fabricasse, nj inventasse esta arte; porque no tiene fundamento, en njnguna sciencia, nj en njnguna razon natural: mas parece cosa de embuste y embaimjento, que no cosa razonal, nj artificiosa. Digo que fue embuste y embaimjento, para encandilar, y desatinar a gente de poca capazidad, y de poco entendimjento. No obstante esto, era tenjda en mucho, esta arte adiujnatoria o mas propriamente hablando embusse o embaimjento diabolico: y tambien los que la sabian, y vsauan erã muy hõrrados y tenjdos: porque dezian las cosas por venjr, y del vulgo eran tenjdos por verdaderos, aunque njnguna verdad dezian sino acaso, y por yerro. Esta arte, nj sigue años, nj meses, nj semanas, nj lustros, nj olimpiadas, como algunos soñando dixeron, y afirmaron falsamente.

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[See cat. 116, 119, 126r, 126s. - Anal 1st]

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Because the foregoing chart of the soothsaying art is difficult to understand and to reckon by, I have provided the following chart, because it is clearer and the count is easier and in conformity with the way they counted. And let no one think that this chart is a calendar; because, as is said, it is only a soothsaying device. The calendar of these natives is found at the beginning of the Second Book, and it is very easily understood because of the letters of the alphabet which it hath. On one side are counted their months, which are of twenty days each. And on the other side are counted our months, which are of thirty days, one more or less. And since this count is so given, it is easy to know, of their feasts, in which of our months they fell, and on which day of each month. The other count, which is of the years, is placed in the Seventh Book of this history. There it may be seen, if it please Our Lord that it be published.

Porque la tabla precedente del arte adiuinatoria esta difficultuosa de entender, y de contar: puse esta tabla que se sigue, porque esta muy mas clara y la cuenta muy mas facil, y conforme a como ellos contauan. Y no piense nadie, que esta tabla es Kalendario porque como dicho es, no es sino arte adiuinatoria. El Kalendario destos naturales se pone en el principio del segundo libro esta muy claro de entender, porque las letras del a. b. c. que tiene: de vna parte, se cuentan los meses suyos, que son de veynte en veynte dias. Y de la otra parte, se cuentan los nuestros meses: que son de a treynta dias, vno mas o menos. Y por estar esta cuenta desta manera, facil cosa es saber sus fiestas, en que mes de los nuestros cayan: y a quantos dias de cada mes. La otra cuenta que es de los años, se pone en el septimo libro desta historia: alli se podra ver, si pluguiere a nuestro señor, que salga a luz.

1 [See cat. 116, pp. 126u, 126v. - Annlyst]